# THE CHAUPA SINGH RAHIT-NAMA

W.H.McLeod

University of Otago Press

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Hew McLeod

University of Otago Dunedin

### Note on the Gurmukhi text

The original intention was to have the Gurmukhi text printed in India and subsequently incorporated within the complete work. Distance from Dunedin and other complications made this plan impracticable and it was decided that the text should be copied by hand. This was done by the translator/editor, thus providing a master copy suitable for reproduction. Although the result obviously fails to match the neatness of a printed version it may perhaps be claimed that it possesses its own distinctive advantage in that it more closely resembles the manuscripts from which it has been constructed.

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# INTRODUCTION

# I. CONTEXT

Ruhit and rahit-namas

Three basic features distinguish a Sikh of the Khalsa: veneration of the Gurus, reverence for the Guru Granth Sahib and observance of the Rahit. The first two need no further explanation. The third, however, is a term foreign to most outsiders, including many who demonstrate a genuine interest in Sikhs and their faith. It is a category which commonly requires definition infore a discussion can proceed, an institution central to the life of the loyal Khalsa Sikh which yet receives surprisingly little sustained attention or systematic analysis.

What then is the Rahit? The Rahit is the code of discipline which all members of the Khalsa must yow to observe. Sikh tradition binds Khalsa and Rahit inextricably together. According to well-founded tradition the Khalsa order was inaugurated by Guru Gobind Singh on Baisakhi Day 1699. Following the dramatic choosing of the first five members the Guru is mild to have initiated them with a form of baptism and then to have promulgated the Rahit or under of discipline which all Sikhs of the Khalsa must thereafter follow, Sikh tradition also uffirms that the Guru restated the Rahit in an amplified form immediately prior to his death in 1708. At his death the Rahit was sealed. The Lord of the Khalsa had delivered, once and for Ill, the pattern of belief and behaviour which his loyal followers must thereafter observe.

The reality of the situation is, needless to say, rather more complicated than the tradition allows. It is slightly complicated by developments which precede the founding of the Khalsa In 1699; and it is vastly complicated by those which follow that crucial event. Pre-1699 mources indicate that a rudimentary Rahit was evolving prior to the founding of the Khalsa; contemporary sources fail to deliver an authenticated 1699 version; and post-1699 sources demonstrate that much of the Rahit crystallized during the eighteenth century. Post-1699 wources also indicate that the discipline as a whole has ever since continued to mutate. In response to changing circumstances it has predictably introduced items which earlier versions luck, amended some which have come to be unacceptable in their original form, and discarded others which could no longer be sustained. This should not suggest, however, a process of change so radical that the Rahit of today bears little resemblance to its early eighteenth-century precursor. Plainly this is not the case. The fact that the Rahit testifies to an ongoing evolution quite rightly implies continuity, a continuity which can easily be traced throughout the entire history of the Khalsa.2

Pre-1699 sources do little to complicate the issue because there is little in them which one Identifies as typical Rahit material. Attention has frequently been drawn to an apparent difference in the spirit and general approach which evidently distinguishes the practice of the tenth Guru from the teachings of the first (the so-called 'transformation of Sikhism'). This particular controversy is essentially irrelevant in that the Rahit is recognisably a product of the later period. The early period, best expressed in the Adi Granth collection, is largely concerned with the interior discipline of meditation on the divine Name. This particular emphasis has ever since remained a conspicuous feature of Sikh belief, and as such it finds a place in the Rahit. Ever since the first versions of the Rahit were formally enunciated Khalsa Sikhs have been enjoined to rise at an early hour and meditate on the divine Name. The Injunction has, however, become one amongst many. Although it retains a fundamental Importance the Rahit which was to emerge during the eighteenth century includes much more than this Adi Granth inheritance. A few other items evidently derive from the early practice of the Panth. Most belong to the period of the later Gurus and to the turbulent decades which followed the death of Guru Gobind Singh in 1708.

It was during the fifty years following the death of the tenth Guru that the earliest extant version of the Rahit was committed to writing. This brings us to the rahit-namas, the recorded versions of the formalised Rahit.<sup>3</sup> It has been widely assumed that Guru Gobind Singh himself must surely have instructed scribes to prepare copies of the Rahit which he had

promulgated at the inauguration of the Khalsa. Earlier Gurus had already begun the practice of despatching hukam-nāmās or 'letters of command' and the tenth Guru had continued the practice. Although a hukam-nāmā might well include instructions of a kind which could have been incorporated in a rahit-nama these 'letters of command' never supplied the comprehensive list which constitutes the latter form. No extant rahit-nama can be safely traced to the lifetime of the Guru himself. All belong to the years following his death.

Sikh tradition acknowledges that the earliest rahit-namas may have been recorded after the tenth Guru's death, but it does not countenance a significant gap. Several rahit-namas claim to derive directly from the words of the Guru himself and if in fact the recording took place after he had died the injunctions which they contain express his actual words and authentic intentions. Such is the claim lodged by most of the writers responsible for the earliest versions. One purports to be the work of the Guru's most trusted servant, a faithful retainer who had cared for the Guru during his childhood and who had subsequently remained by his side as a close confidant. Another declares itself to be the record of a conversation held with the Guru shortly before his death in South India. Three different rahit-namas are attributed to

Nand Lal Goya, a celebrated poet of the Guru's entourage.

The earliest of these claimants apparently dates from the middle of the eighteenth century (between 1740 and 1765). This is the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā, attributed to the tenth Guru's tutor and aide Chaupa Singh Chhibbar. In its extant form it presents considerable difficulties from an orthodox Khalsa point of view, difficulties which seem plainly to explain the general neglect which it has suffered. These include the composite nature of the text (it incorporates narrative anecdotes and apocalyptic prophecy as well as rahit-nama material); its insistence upon traditional deference towards Brahmans (Chaupa Singh was himself a Brahman); and its embarrassing involvement in the Devi cult. The neglect is thus understandable, but it is nevertheless unfortunate in that no existing rahit-nama carries us nearer to the time of Guru Gobind Singh than this work attributed to Chaupa Singh Chhibbar. It must be added that its value, though considerable, should not raise too many expectations. It emerges almost half a century after the Guru's death and there is insufficient evidence to sustain the claim that its rahit-nama portions are the work of the Chaupa Singh who served as an intimate member of the tenth Guru's retinue. What this means is that the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā testifies to a later perception of the role of the Khalsa and the duty of the individual Sikh. It must also be remembered that it represents the views of a group which had once been influential within the Khalsa but which had since become disaffected.

In spite of these shortcomings the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā can at least be dated and located within its appropriate context, and we shall be dealing with it in much greater detail as this volume proceeds. Most of the other claimants to an early eighteenth-century provenance are more difficult to fix in terms of time or context. It is obviously safe to assume that like the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā they do not derive from the period of Guru Gobind Singh and in the case of the Nand Lal versions their attribution is obviously contrived. If claims to authenticity were to be established it was essential that the relevant text should assert a context involving direct dictation by Guru Gobind Singh. Amongst his retainers none would have better qualifications as an amanuensis than Nand Lal Goya and he thus became a natural candidate for the role of rahit-nama author. The actual texts do nothing to sustain these claims, plainly indicating that they belong to a later period. That is the easy part. The difficult part is to locate them within the decades (or centuries) following the Guru's death, and to identify the groups or individuals who produce them.

One of these later rahit-namas which does permit cautious conclusions is the work variously known as the *Prem Sumārag* or the *Param Sumārag*. This particular manual obviously belongs to the middle years of the nineteenth century, a conclusion which follows from its author's obvious knowledge of the rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and from his evident nostalgia for that period. The only outstanding question with regard to dating concerns the precise time of its composition, whether shortly before the British annexation of the Punjab or shortly after that event.<sup>4</sup> The *Sau Sākhāān* or 'Hundred Episodes' also belongs to the same period, though in its extant form it probably emerged a decade or two later.<sup>5</sup> Like the *Chaupā* 

NIngh Rahit-nāmā the Sau Sākhāan combines Rahit injunctions with apocalyptic prophecy. An such it was to provide comfort and inspiration to the Kukas in their opposition to the alien lightlish.

Much more difficult to place and evaluate are four brief rahit-namas written in verse form. Two of these rahit-namas are attributed to Nand Lal; one to a disciple variously called Prahilad Rul or Prahilad Singh; and one to Desa Singh, also said to be a contemporary follower of Guru Clobind Singh. This cluster constitutes the principal problem associated with the rahit-namas. Their contents are far too important to be ignored and if we are to trace the growth of the Khulsa satisfactorily it seems imperative that these verse rahit-namas should be firmly fixed in terms of time and context. It is, however, impossible to draw adequate conclusions at this stage. We can certainly detach all four from their purported origins and thereby bring them forward in time. Their language is not that of the period which they claim to represent and the kind of verse which we find in them could scarcely be the work of the highly skilled Nand Lal (loya. But how far forward should they be brought? That precisely is the problem and no sufficient answer has yet been supplied.

The same problem also attaches to one of the two remaining earlier rahit-namas. These two me both brief collections of injunctions expressed in prose. One of them (another of the Nand I.al rahit-namas) is invariably found in association with the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā and like its dominant colleague can probably be placed in the middle years of the eighteenth century. The second is attributed to Daya Singh, one of the first five Sikhs to be initiated by Guru (lobind Singh at the inauguration of the Khalsa in 1699. As with the four verse rahit-namas this prose product can safely be detached from its putative author. A nineteenth-century provenance is indicated by the nature of its language, but at this stage any such verdict must be

a cautious one.

Whatever their dates and origins these were the formal rahit-namas which existed when representatives of the Singh Sabha reform movement turned their attention to the Rahit late in the nineteenth century. Siven their interest in restoring the purity of Sikh doctrine and practice it was inevitable that the Singh Sabha reformers should have directed a portion of their zeal to the Rahit and its formal enunciation. Their task was not easy. The legacy of the two preceding centuries was a sparse one and much of its content was plainly unacceptable to the educated men who led the movement. The Khalsa allegiance of the various rahit-namas may have been obvious, but so too were their many contradictions and the injunctions which no enlightened product of late nineteenth-century education could possibly accept.

One response was to prepare commentaries on the Rahit or on particular features of it, and several of the works published during the Singh Sabha period belong to this category. A prominent example of the genre was Avatar Singh's Khālsā Dharam-sāstra Sanskar Bhāg, first issued from Lahore in 1894. A few years later that most influential of all Singh Sabha intellectuals, Kahn Singh of Nabha, published a different kind of response, one which clearly

signalled the true nature of the problem.

Kahn Singh's Guramat Sudhākar, first issued in 1901, was a compendium of works relating to the person and time of Guru Gobind Singh. Such a collection was bound to include muterial relating to the Rahit, but how could the rahit-nama wheat be sifted from the chaff and the weeds? Kahn Singh solved the problem by publishing what appeared to be abridged versions of the principal rahit-namas. In reality, however, his selections were expurgated versions rather than abridgements. Portions which were unacceptable were deleted (as well as those which were insignificant) and only those items which matched the reformist philosophy of the Singh Sabha movement were retained. Anything which conflicted with that philosophy must ipso facto conflict with the original intention of Guru Gobind Singh. As such it must surely represent interpolation by an enemy, by a deviant, or (at best) by an ignorant Sikh. Purging these excrescences should produce a version of the Rahit much closer to the original version than that of any extant rahit-nama. Although this reasoning was not spelt out it seems clearly implicit in the procedure adopted by Kahn Singh.

Other attempts have subsequently been made to utilise the earlier rahit-namas. 10 It is, however, a method doomed to fail if the objective is to be a comprehensive statement of the

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Rahit appropriate to contemporary circumstances. This awareness prompted a lengthy quest for the definitive rahit-nama, one which would draw into a single agreed manual the various injunctions which together constitute the sum total of approved Khalsa practice. Extant rahit-namas could contribute to this process, but alone they must be inadequate. Other sources had to be used for the details which they delivered; and a consensus had to be achieved with regard to inclusion, omission, and the actual form of words. The task was an exceedingly difficult one and the final result bears all the marks of committee procedure. It was nevertheless achieved after several decades of negotiation, a feat of no mean scale.

The attempt made during the Singh Sabha heyday was actually a failure. This was the manual of Sikh rituals published as Guramat Prakās Bhāg Sanskār in 1915, a work which incorporated Rahit injunctions within proposed orders for various rites and ceremonies. Its failure was implicitly acknowledged in 1931 when the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (which by then had become the dominant voice in Sikh affairs) appointed a sub-committee to prepare a new rahit-nama. Although a draft was ready within a year the process of discussion was protracted and it was not until 1950 that an agreed version was finally published as Sikh Rahit Maryādā.

The brief introductory portion of Sikh Rahit Maryādā appropriately offers a definition of a Sikh.

A Sikh is any person who believes in God (Akāl Purakh); in the ten Gurus (Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh); in Sri Guru Granth Sahib, other writings of the ten Gurus, and their teachings; in the Khalsa initiation ceremony instituted by the tenth Guru; and who does not believe in any other system of religious doctrine. <sup>11</sup>

The remainder of the manual is divided into two sections, a lengthy 'Personal code' and a much shorter 'Panthic code'. The former includes instructions concerning modes of personal devotion; gurdwara worship and administration; approved methods of reading the sacred scripture; practices which are either enjoined or proscribed; and orders to be followed in the conduct of birth and naming-ceremonies, marriage, and funerals. The second section consists largely of the order to be observed in conducting the Khalsa initiation ceremony (amrit sanskār). Several basic injunctions are incorporated within this rite as portions of the homily delivered to all who receive initiation. The manual concludes with a brief section on penalties (tanakhāh) to be imposed for violation of the Rahit.

Although Sikh Rahit Maryādā has stood the test of thirty-five years remarkably well there are some predictable qualifications which must be added. For some the problem has been the evident fact that whereas the manual defines normative Sikh behaviour operative practice is very different. The answer to this particular objection is, of course, that such manuals are by definition normative statements and that as such they serve to stabilise religious practice in the quicksand world of ignorance and self-interest. A second difficulty is that although Sikh Rahit Maryādā grapples with the problem of the so-called Sahaj-dhari (or non-Khalsa) Sikh it finally fails to provide a satisfactory place for the latter. To this the answer must be that Sikh Rahit Maryādā is, after all, a statement of Khalsa practice. It does not pretend to cover the needs of the uninitiated who yet regard themselves as Sikhs.

These are, however, questions which must await later investigation and analysis. The purpose of the present volume is to present and examine the earliest of the extant rahit-namas. It is thus to Chaupa Singh and the rahit-nama bearing his name that we now turn.

# A neglected tradition

Chaupa Singh is one of the Panth's enigmas. Although tradition attributes to him a role of fundamental significance in the emergence of the Khalsa he has attracted little attention in the intervening centuries. Kahn Singh Nabha expresses a widely-held view:

Chaupa Singh: This respected person was the tenth Guru's tutor  $(khid\bar{a}v\bar{a})$  and a loyal Sikh of the Satguru. He compiled a rahit-nama which has been extensively corrupted by ignorant Sikhs. 12

Kahn Singh's two sentences exemplify the treatment which Chaupa Singh has typically received. Although it is respectful it is also brief and implicitly discouraging. Chaupa Singh

recorded a rahit-nama, but it has been grievously disfigured by careless amendment and mischievous interpolation. There is nothing more to say.

Kahn Singh's dismissive treatment is perhaps surprising, particularly in view of the fact that he elsewhere cites passages from the *Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā* as if they were safely authentic and orthodox. <sup>13</sup> He does, however, represent a general view and normal practice. The rahit-nama attributed to Chaupa Singh may be occasionally quoted, but with rare exceptions it and its putative author receive scant attention. <sup>14</sup> This, surely, is surprising. The Rahit is absolutely fundamental to the history and continued existence of the Khalsa, and one might well have expected that a work claiming to be its first recorded expression would attract close analysis. There are, as we shall see, reasons for this neglect, though they are not reasons which sufficiently justify it.

The two principal sources for material relating to Chaupa Singh are the rahit-nama itself and another work belonging to the same family tradition. This latter work is Kesar Singh Chhibbar's Bansāvalī-nāmā dasān pātšāhīān dā, a chronicle of the ten Gurus and the early eighteenth century, written in clumsy Punjabi verse and completed in 1769. Details concerning Chaupa Singh's family connections are confirmed and supplemented by the Bhatt vāhī multānī sindhī. These sources identify him as Chaupati Rai, a Chhibbar Brahman whose ancestral home was Kariala village in Jhelum District. His grandfather Gotam had become a Sikh and was followed in this allegiance by his two sons. The elder of the two, Pera by name, was Chaupati Rai's father. Praga, the younger son and uncle of Chaupati Rai, carned distinction as a soldier serving under Guru Hargobind and fathered a lineage which included several prominent servants of the Gurus. 18

While still a child Chaupati Rai was dedicated by his parents to the service of Guru Har Rai. During the period of Guru Tegh Bahadur he was employed as khiḍāvā to the infant Gobind Singh 19 and according to the rahit-nama he was also entrusted with the task of teaching him his Gurmukhi and Takri letters. 20 The rahit-nama and the Bansāvalī-nāmā both claim that he was the first person to receive the new Khalsa baptism from Guru Gobind Singh, 21 a claim which must be treated with scepticism. It can, however, be acknowledged that he would have received initiation at some stage and that the name Chaupa Singh would have been assumed at this time.

Having identified Chaupa Singh as first initiate the Chhibbar tradition subsequently lodges its second claim on his behalf. Kesar Singh briefly describes in the Bansāvalī-nāmā how the Guru decided to have the Khalsa code of conduct (the Rahit) codified and recorded. For this Important task Chaupa Singh was chosen and was thus responsible for preparing the first ruhit-nama. Shortly thereafter he assisted in escorting the women of the Guru's entourage to Delhi where he remained until his death in 1723. This is said to have occurred as a result of a fracas in which a Muslim faqir was killed by followers of Mata Sundari's adopted son Jit Singh. Sixty Sikhs were arrested with Jit Singh by the Mughal authorities and on Magh sudī 4, S.1780, all were executed. Chaupa Singh was one of the sixty.

The Chhibbar tradition that Chaupa Singh was selected by Guru Gobind Singh to produce the first rahit-nama is related by Kesar Singh in the following terms. Shortly before the siege of Anandpur and its evacuation the Guru responded to requests from his Sikhs by commanding Chaupa Singh to write a rahit-nama. When Chaupa Singh humbly professed insufficient competence for so weighty a responsibility he was reassured by the promise that the Guru himself would inspire and direct the words which he uttered. Dutifully he recorded a rahit-nama comprising 1,800 injunctions. A copy was made by a Sikh named Sital Singh Bahrupia and taken to the Guru for his imprimatur. A second copy was then prepared by a Sud Sikh and this too was certified by the Guru.<sup>24</sup>

One of the extant versions of the rahit-nama disputes this account, claiming in an appended introduction that the task was undertaken by a group of trusty Sikhs who had been approached by others seeking clarification of the Rahit. Having prepared a rahit-nama on their own initiative thay presented it to the Guru and secured his ready approval.<sup>25</sup> The colophons of all the extant versions agree, however, in reserving the honour of having prepared it to Chaupa

Singh.<sup>26</sup> With this uncertain support from the extant text Kesar Singh Chhibbar has conferred on the Panth the tradition that its first rahit-nama was the work of his relative Chaupa Singh.

Although there subsequently appeared other rahit-namas claiming to reproduce the Guru's actual words the Chhibbar tradition has managed to survive. In 1881 it was resurrected by Baba Sumer Singh of Patna in his Srī Gurū pad prem prakāś and has sustained a fragile existence ever since.<sup>27</sup> Two related reasons may account for its survival, neither of them dependent on the specific claims advanced by Kesar Singh or the extant text. The first is a hypothetical argument based on the assumption that ritual behaviour necessarily attracts a doctrine of authority. Observance of the Rahit lies at the very heart of the Khalsa tradition and loyalty to the tradition requires that contemporary practice should faithfully reflect the Rahit actually delivered to the Panth by Guru Gobind Singh. The conviction that the contemporary expression of the Rahit corresponds to the Guru's stated intention would be confirmed and vastly strengthened if the latter could be established on the basis of an authoritative text. This, unfortunately, is not possible, but it is nevertheless entirely natural that a yearning for such authority should persist. Under such circumstances any plausible claim that the Guru commissioned a rahit-nama must exercise a strong appeal.

Deduction proceeding from this sentiment has provided a second reason for the survival of the tradition. It has been claimed that, although conclusive evidence is lacking, a decision by the Guru to record the rahit in a permanent form may nevertheless be regarded as an intrinsic likelihood. This argument begins with the wholly credible assumption that the Guru must surely have instructed his followers in the duties of their Khalsa allegiance. The Khalsa was plainly intended to be a visibly distinctive order and if anything resembling a formal inauguration took place it must certainly have been accompanied by a declaration of the means whereby its distinctive identity would be made manifest to all. It can thus be assumed that an early version of the Rahit would have been enunciated during the lifetime of the Guru.

From this first assumption the argument proceeds to a second. An oral presentation, however frequent, could scarcely serve the needs of a dispersed and growing community of disciples. Something more would be required if the requirements of the Rahit were to be effectively communicated. Randhir Singh argues that when the Guru instituted a new rite of baptism in order to combat the masands he must certainly have had a rahit-nama prepared in order to provide a convenient and permanent record of the new discipline. This would have been needed as a manual of instruction for the five-man baptismal teams (jathā) which he thereafter sent around the area occupied by his followers. Others who might hesitate to endorse the specific details of Randhir Singh's argument nevertheless accept the general proposition, conceding that the need for a written code of conduct would be at least 'highly probable'.

In this manner it is argued that a decision by Guru Gobind Singh to commission a rahit-nama is, to say the least, a strong likelihood. From this assumption it is but a small step to accepting the credentials proffered by the first of the traditional claimants. Some may hold back, but others do not: 'It can certainly be accepted,' writes Piara Singh Padam, 'that Chaupa Singh (martyred in S.1780) must have written a rahit-nama...'30 The tradition lives on. It is, however, only the report concerning Chaupa Singh which has thus survived. The actual text in its extant form is treated rather differently. As we have already noted Kahn Singh's opinion was that the extant text represents a seriously corrupted version of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā.<sup>31</sup> Others even more sceptical suggest that it may be something quite distinct from Chaupa Singh's original product. It may be relatively early, but insofar as it purports to be the work of Chaupa Singh it is spurious. <sup>32</sup>

Although these opinions are normally stated without supporting evidence it is not difficult to deduce what the reasons might be. Five can be identified:

1. Structure. The first is that the extant text is obviously a composite work drawn from at least three different sources. Having begun as a formal rahit-nama presenting a regular series of injunctions the text switches to a narrative sequence.<sup>33</sup> It subsequently returns to its formal presentation of the Rahit,<sup>34</sup> but then abandons it again for another extended narrative

nequence.<sup>35</sup> This concludes the material attributed to Chaupa Singh.<sup>36</sup> The actual text, however, continues. The manuscripts, having done with Chaupa Singh, proceed with a brief prose rahit-nama attributed to Nand Lal.<sup>37</sup>

With this appended contribution the manuscripts finally conclude. Plainly they derive from more than one source and the text which they record cannot possibly be regarded as the original work of a single writer. Even if the several components of the Chaupa Singh portion are to be accepted as the work of one author this can only be done by arguing that this author originally prepared two separate texts, one a rahit-nama and the other a narrative. From each of these sources a later compiler might then have extracted two separate portions and recorded them as a four-part composite text. In other words, even if the Chaupā Singh material is the mulhentic work of Chaupa Singh Chhibbar one must still postulate a subsequent copyist making selective use of the material. On structural grounds it is impossible to regard the extant text as the unmediated product of a single author.

2. Doctrine. A second reason for rejecting the extant text as the unadulterated work of Chaupa Singh is presumably the presence of attitudes and injunctions which conflict with twentieth-century orthodoxy. A prominent example is provided by the following item.

Any Gursikh who is a Brahman should receive twice the service [and consideration that other Sikhs receive. He who renders such service] shall earn a double reward. <sup>38</sup> 'I'he rahit-nama's attitude towards Muslims is similarly unacceptable to orthodox ideals.

A Gursikh should never touch a Muslim woman. He should never become friendly with a Muslim, nor should he trust his word. Never drink water from the hands of a Muslim and do not sleep in the company of Muslims. Never trust the oath of a Muslim... 39

The notion that Guru Gobind Singh could have sanctioned privilege for Brahmans or the contemptuous ostracising of all Muslims is unthinkable. No work inspired by the Guru could possibly include such instructions. If the rahit-nama is truly the work of the Guru's servant Chaupa Singh then these injunctions and others like them must surely be later interpolations. Conflict with later orthodoxy is also implied in some notable omissions. These include the text's failure to mention the pañj kakke (the five K's)<sup>40</sup> and the absence of a distinctive marriage rival

N. Influence of the Devi cult. The Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā relates, as if it were authentic, the notorious story that Guru Gobind Singh was persuaded to seek the blessings of Mata Devi (the goddess Kali or Durga) on his new Panth by celebrating the traditional hom or ine-ritual. Although this particular narrative has been omitted by both the SRL and PSP copyists the numbering sequence running through the rahit-nama clearly demonstrates that it was a part of the version or versions from which they were working. The inclusion of the story, though unsurprising in an eighteenth-century Sikh work, inevitably detracts from the muhit-nama's claims to authenticity in the eyes of twentieth-century readers. All who share the Slingh Sabha inheritance must reject this story as spurious, and with it any claim that the extant Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā is reliable as history.

The Puranic cosmology introduced towards the end of the rahit-nama will presumably fall under the same condemnation. Although the strong Puranic element in the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā seems plainly to derive from the influence of the Dasam Granth it was generally unacceptable to Singh Sabha orthodoxy and would thus be regarded as another reason for treating the rahit-nama as dubious in origin or corrupt in terms of its extant text.

A. Chhibbar interests. A fourth reason which might well be offered by the proponents of an interpolation theory concerns the unctuous references to Chhibbar Brahmans which appear in both narrative portions of the Chaupā Singh text. 43 These are plainly intended to serve a sumily purpose, asserting on behalf of its members a claim to special deference within the Panth. Although Chaupa Singh was himself a Chhibbar this could scarcely explain the presence of such flattery in an original work commissioned and approved by the Guru. How could Guru Gobind Singh possibly inspire or sanction such self-interested claims?

5. Language. Finally there is the language of the rahit-nama. Piara Singh Padam questions the authenticity of the extant text on the grounds that its language and style are later than the usage current during the time of Guru Gobind Singh. Another feature of the language which

might also raise doubts concerning the extant text is its Lahndi impress. It is true that Chaupa Singh came from a Lahndi-speaking area. It is, however, unlikely that a key work prepared in the darbar of Guru Gobind Singh and under his supervision would have used Lahndi forms so freely or incorporated elements drawn from Pothohari. One might well have expected the Punjabi to be more strongly Majhi or Doabi, with a possible tendency towards Braj. The Lahndi content of the language suggests either a work composed in the area north-west of Lahore or one which was subsequently revised there.

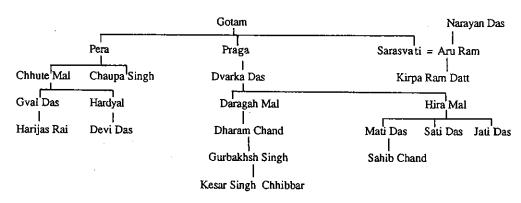
These five objections constitute the case which may be made against accepting the extant text as a rahit-nama prepared by Chaupa Singh Chhibbar under the direction of Guru Gobind Singh. In one respect the work is regarded as highly commendable. More than any other rahit-nama it demonstrates a conscious dependence on the sacred scriptures, a dependence illustrated by frequent quotation from both the Adi Granth and the Dasam Granth. This alone, however, cannot establish its credentials. The consensus opinion thus appears to be that the text's claim to authenticity must be rejected. The only major disagreement lies beyond this common acceptance. Whereas some regard the extant text as a seriously corrupt version of an authentic Chaupā Singh original, others tentatively suggest that it may have nothing at all to do with him.

The truth of the matter appears to be rather more complex than either of these simple explanations, and the challenge which it presents is unavoidable. If the extant text is to yield any information of value it is obviously essential that we unravel this complexity, endeavouring thereby to locate the text's various components in terms of date, place, and intention. A prior issue involved in this unravelling process is the family background to which reference has already been made. The first step in our analysis must therefore be an examination of this background and of the distinctive tradition which it had evidently developed during the first half of the eighteenth century.

### The Chhibbar connection

Chaupa Singh was a Brahman of the Chhibbar got, a descendant of Gotam Chhibbar and member of a family which exercised considerable influence during the period of the later Gurus. This influence was to dwindle into insignificance during the turbulent years following the death of Guru Gobind Singh in 1708, leaving its heirs with memories of a lost eminence and with a dismayed contempt for the Khalsa leadership of the mid-eighteenth century. The decline in Chhibbar fortunes during the eighteenth century is important, for it was to mould the distinctive Chhibbar tradition which informs much of Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā.

The Chhibbars are a Jammu got and Gotam was a resident of Kariala village in the neighbouring Jhelum area. He produced the following lineage<sup>46</sup>:



Many of these names appear in the extant text of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā and it requires only a cursory reading to recognise the self-conscious Chhibbar awareness which has prompted

their introduction. This is particularly marked in the two narrative sections, both of which stress the devoted loyalty of Chhibbar Brahmans to the later Gurus and the trust which the Gurus hostowed on them in recognition of their services. Chaupa Singh himself is cast in a role vastly more exalted than that of a mere scribe. Together with another Chhibbar he is responsible for the touth Guru's early education;<sup>47</sup> he plays a leading part in assisting the Guru during the first corremony of kes baptism and is himself the first initiate;<sup>48</sup> he is always at hand as an annanuensis<sup>49</sup> and as the closest of the Guru's personal servants;<sup>50</sup> and finally he is the one chosen above all others as worthy to record the Khalsa Rahit.<sup>51</sup>

These claims may or may not be true. The issue which concerns us at this point is the extent to which they contribute to a Chhibbar reputation for faithful service and nearness to the Guru. This, plainly, is their intention and the message is repeatedly reinforced by laudatory references to other Chhibbars, scattered through the narrative portions of the text. The list is as follows:

Daniel Maland Him Ma 152	ChS section Nos.
Daragah Mal and Hira Mal <sup>52</sup> - servants of the seventh Guru	171, 584
Mati Das and Sati Das  — loyal servants of the eighth and ninth Gurus  — accompany the ninth Guru to martyrdom	171, 584 159, 162, 265
Kirpa Ram – taught the tenth Guru Persian	158
Devi Das  - delivers daily homilies in the darbars of the ninth and tenth Gurus  - prominent in conducting the funeral obsequies for the ninth Guru  - determines the auspicious time for the tenth Guru's consecration  - commanded to find Brahmans for the fire-ritual  - comforted by the Guru  - expounds the ancient scriptures	158, 174 167 169 209 236ff 615
Sahib Chand and Dharam Chand  – appointed to high office by the tenth Guru  – participate in administering the first kes baptism  – included in a group of prominent Sikhs  Dharam Chand (separate mention)	170-173 179 573
<ul> <li>instructed to promulgate edict against masands</li> <li>consulted by the Guru</li> <li>praised and reassured by the tenth Guru</li> <li>asked to deposit money in the treasury</li> <li>questions the Guru concerning the Khalsa</li> <li>summoned to record a mystic revelation</li> </ul>	186-188 236 583-586 599 604 612
Gurbakhsh Singh  - commissions a copy of the rahit-nama	643

It is an impressive list, one which becomes all the more impressive when the references are read in full and the actual ranks of individual Chhibbars are noted.<sup>53</sup> Four of them (Daragah

Mal, Mati Das, Sati. Das, and Sahib Chand) served as divans under the later Gurus, apparently establishing a family monopoly of the highest position in the Guru's administration. The effect of the writer's strategy is further enhanced by the paucity of references to other Sikhs. Kirpal Singh, maternal uncle of the tenth Guru (and a patron of the Chhibbars), is mentioned in four places, but the few others who fleetingly appear are limited to one or two notices. The message is clear. The Chhibbar family (so it is claimed) possesses a record unparalleled for its faithful service to the Gurus and this record demands recognition.

The various individuals and incidents noted in the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā also appear in that other product of the Chhibbar tradition, Kesar Singh's Bansāvalī-nāmā dasān pātsāhīān da. The two versions of the tradition do not always correspond in terms of detail, but the general resemblance is nevertheless close and there can be no doubt that the Bansāvalī-nāmā shares a common source tradition with the narrative portions of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā. The two works overlap in terms of content and correspond completely as Chhibbar manifestos. This is scarcely surprising. Kesar Singh was the son of Gurbakhsh Singh Chhibbar, identified in the colophon of the surviving Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā manuscripts as the person who commissioned the recording of the extant text.<sup>54</sup>

According to its own testimony the Bansāvalī-nāmā was begun in Jammu City on Savan sudī 14, S.1826, and completed in the remarkably short space of two months on Asu sudī 11, S.1826.<sup>55</sup> If this claim is correct (and it presumably refers to a final copying of an earlier draft) the work reached its final form during the monsoon months of 1769.<sup>56</sup> As its complete title indicates the Bansāvalī-nāmā purports to be a chronology of the ten Gurus. It comprises fourteen sections, one for each of the ten Gurus with the remaining four allocated to Banda, Jit Singh, Mata Sahib Devi, and sundry contemporaries. Its rambling poetry consists of 2563 stanzas, unevenly distributed over the fourteen sections. For his sources Kesar Singh used a Bālā janam-sakhi, the Bachitra Nāṭak, a vāhī from the tenth Guru's treasury, Puranic

traditions, and abundant hearsay. 57

In his introduction to the published text of the Bansāvalī-nāmā Rattan Singh Jaggi draws attention to several features of the work. 58 Two of these are of particular interest with reference to the attitudes and material which it shares with the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā. First there is the clumsiness of its historical method, a style which lacks order and balance. Numerous dates are given, but many of these cannot be checked and like some of the author's claims they are often open to doubt. This is a feature which one expects to find in a work informed by family bias and extensively based upon hearsay. Jaggi acknowledges, however, that the work may contain trustworthy information which is available nowhere else, a view which Dr Ganda Singh confirms. 59 The same cautious approach must be applied to those parts of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā which deal with past history. It would be rash to read them

uncritically; and it would be unjust to dismiss them out of hand. Information of this kind, however, is not the principal contribution offered by the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā. It is not the historical past but rather the contemporary present which it most usefully conveys. This leads us to a second point made by Rattan Singh Jaggi. Kesar Singh, in dealing with what he viewed as the dire circumstances of the contemporary Panth, identifies four varieties of Sikh - the Dīdārī, the Mukatā, the Maikī, and the Murīd. These four categories are obviously drawn from the shared Chhibbar tradition, for they also appear in the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā and will require our closer attention in that context. 60 The message communicated by this fourfold division of the Panth is that disarray has increasingly overtaken the Panth during the course of the eighteenth century and that worse is yet to come.<sup>61</sup> The latter sections of the Bansavali-nāmā are shot through with pessimism, implicitly contrasting the qualities of Chhibbar service with the shameless deceit of those who dominate the Khalsa during the middle years of the eighteenth century. It is a view which comes through even more strongly in the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā. In the Bansāvalī-nāmā the Chhibbar verdict is hedged with detail. The rahit-nama, ignoring much that is superfluous, projects it in sharp focus.

The relevance of the Chhibbar tradition is most obvious when we are dealing with the narrative portions of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā. This does not mean, however, that it is

Irrelevant with regard to the two sections which formally enunciate the Rahit. It is important to these Rahit sections for at least two reasons, the first of them one which helps us clarify the true nature of the rahit-nama. We have already noted its pro-Brahman injunctions as one of the features justifying the claim that the extant text has been interpolated.<sup>62</sup> In the light of the rahit-nama's Chhibbar impress this claim must be treated with caution. The Chhibbars were welf-consciously Brahman and items which accord with this attitude should probably be regarded as natural features rather than as interpolations.

A second reason for relating the Chhibbar tradition to the Rahit sections is that it provides algorificant assistance in locating and dating these sections. The extant text may be composite in origin, but the person who drew its various components into a single manuscript must obviously have selected material which met with his approval. This means that the extant text stands, in its own right, as testimony to the views of the person who contrived it and of those who subsequently arranged for it to be copied. The narrative portions of the text confirm and greatly extend the information briefly stated in the colophon. They identify the extant text as a Chhibbar product recorded soon after the middle of the eighteenth century. This does not necessarily identify the actual origin of the rahit sections, but it does demonstrate that for one section of the Panth they were regarded as authoritative during the middle years of the eighteenth century. This is a substantial gain.

# П. ТЕХТ

Manuscript copies of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā

Manuscript copies of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā are exceedingly rare and it appears that no manuscript from the eighteenth century now survives. This scarcity presumably reflects the long-standing doubt attached to the text's credentials. It may also derive from the subsequent appearance of the briefer rahit-namas combining crisp presentation with the same insistant claims to authenticity. The lengthy Prem Sumārag has suffered a fate similar to that of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā.

Although efforts have been made by various organisations and individuals to locate and list extant Punjabi manuscripts it is evident that by no means all have yet been brought to light. Private collections and small gurdwaras still hold manuscripts which appear in no list or entalogue and it is possible that such owners may yet produce additional copies of the Chaupā Slingh Rahit-nāmā. It is obvious, however, that the number can never be substantial. Indeed the number of extant manuscripts has recently declined. Until mid-1984 an eighteenth-century manuscript was held by the Sikh Reference Library in Amritsar. The Sikh Reference Library was housed in the Golden Temple complex and when the Indian Army launched its Operation Bluestar assault on the complex in June 1984 the library suffered serious damage. Amongst the many manuscripts destroyed on that occasion was the only surviving eighteenth-century manuscript copy of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā.

The Sikh Reference Library manuscript was one of only four located during the preparation of this text and translation. Two of those which survive are held by research libraries in Amritsar and the fourth is accessible through a published edition. All four record (or recorded) the composite four-part text narrative. The destroyed manuscript and the two surviving library copies append the prose Nand Lāl Rahit-nāmā, and it seems likely that the same also applies to the source of the published edition.

The published edition is the version included in Piara Singh Padam's collection entitled Rahit-nāme and discussed below as the PSP text. Another version appears in a cyclostyled document edited by Shamsher Singh Ashok and issued privately in October 1979 under the title Gurū Khālse de Rahit-nāme. This latter version is unsupported by any description of its origin or by satisfactory evidence that it represents a faithful copy of the actual manuscript. It

has accordingly been omitted from the analysis which follows.

1. The Sikh Reference Library text (SRL)

The manuscript destroyed during Operation Bluestar was one of two copies which dominate the text presented in this volume. Prior to its destruction the manuscript was catalogued as number 6124 in the Sikh Reference Library. 64 Fortunately a copy was made and carefully checked during the preparation of this text and translation. (A photocopy of this hand-written copy has been lodged with the library of Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar.) The version which the manuscript recorded was extensively used in determining the Gurmukhi text and the description of the manuscript which follows was written in draft before the assault on the Golden Temple took place.

The SRL manuscript owed its considerable distinction not merely to its eighteenth-century origins but also to the fact that it was explicitly identified in terms of date and place. The colophon which concluded the complete manuscript stated that it was copied in Jind City and completed on Chet sudī 14, S.1821 [1765 A.C.].65 There is no reason to mistrust this claim. 66 The appearance of the manuscript (both paper and script) was compatible with it and a comparison with other versions (particularly the PSP text) strengthens the impression of an eastern Punjabi copying material from the western Punjab. Whereas the PSP text remains generally faithful to Lahndi and Majhi usage, the Sikh Reference Library text tended occasionally to slip into eastern forms. 67

The manuscript held by the Sikh Reference Library comprised 112 folios, each of them 175 mm. wide and 130 mm. from top to bottom. At some stage the folios had been cropped. This was evident from the fact that trimming had cut through some of the folio numbers. The first eight folios were unnumbered, and all eight were blank except for brief entries on the obverse sides of the first and sixth, and the reverse side of the seventh. On the obverse side of the first folio the accession number 6124/2472 and brief table of contents had been entered, presumably when the manuscript was received into the Sikh Reference Library. The number 6124 had been written again on the obverse side of the sixth blank folio; and on the reverse side of the seventh folio the copyist had practised his hand by writing most of the letters of the Gurmukhi alphabet in sequence.

These eight folios were followed by 104 numbered folios bound in ten fascicles of ten folios each plus four terminal folios. 68 The text of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā began on folio 1a and continued through to line 8 of folio 96b. The Nand Lal Rahit-nama commenced in the same line and concluded as line 8 of folio 104a. On folio 104b a later, cruder hand had inscribed a few lines from a savayya. The manuscript had been bound with cloth and the cloth had subsequently been covered with paper. Pasted on the inside of the rear cover was a five-line fragment from a manuscript copy of a Bālā janam-sakhi. The binding was broken and some folios were loose, but the manuscript was otherwise in excellent condition. Its paper was desī, well preserved but obviously old enough for the S.1821 date inscribed in the colophon.

Up to folio 30 each side had eight lines of script. Folios 34, 37 and 58 also had eight lines on each side and folio 100b had ten. The remainder had nine lines per side until the text finally concluded on the eighth line of folio 104a. Each line had 20-30 letters (normally 23-25). The copyist's ink, a dense black throughout most of the manuscript, weakened towards its conclusion.

The script was generally clear and well-formed, although it tended (like the ink) to deteriorate towards the end of the manuscript. The points at which uncertainty occurred were usually instances where two Gurmukhi forms closely resembled each other. Pairs which were sometimes difficult to distinguish were t/bh, th/b, g/ra, th/r, a/mi, and ku/bh.

Normal conventions for the period were observed in word and sentence formation. The ending of each sentence, injunction, or item in a list was marked by do dande (two vertical strokes), but there were no other breaks within each line of script. Words were run together and divided at the end of each line without regard for syllable construction. If a line-ending occurred immediately before a kannā the latter was represented by a small circle inscribed in the right margin. Whenever the same letter terminated a sentence it coalesced with the first

stroke of the do dande.

The only conjunct form was the abbreviated rara (r). It was, however, used with greater frequency than one would find in modern Gurmukhi. The nasal tippī, by contrast, was used less frequently than modern pronunciation requires. The adhik signifying duplication was not

'The copyist's principal weakness was a tendency to omit letters, words, phrases, complete lines and complete injunctions. He had, however, taken the trouble to revise his work and had tectified many of his omissions by recording them in the margin (normally the top margin) with crosses in the text to indicate the actual location of the mistake. 69 Letters which had occasionally been omitted as he moved to a new line were normally missed in the revision process.

Two omissions were particularly conspicuous, one evidently the result of carelessness and the other presumably deliberate. The careless omission concerned the section numbers which were obviously incorporated in an early version of the Chaupā Singh text. At some stage soon after it was first compiled the Chaupa Singh text was divided into brief sections ranging from single sentences to lengthy paragraphs. These were numbered in a sequence which in its extant form extends from 1 to 647.70 This, however, was evident only from the second and later of the two major versions (the GNDU manuscript). The SRL manuscript recorded only a few of the section numbers. This it did erratically as far as number 40 on folio 9a. A lengthy gap then followed until the sequence was resumed at number 170 on folio 38b. This pattern of interrupted sequence continued with lengthy gaps until it finally terminated with number 520 on folio 71b. A second sequence began on folio 72a but soon ended with number 11 on folio 72b. A comparison with the consistently numbered sequence of the later GNDU manuscript Indicates that several of the numbers which were included in the SRL text were actually misplaced.

The second major omission was probably made deliberately for doctrinal reasons. It is clear from the complete numbering sequence that when the numbers were first added the text Included a narrative which may well have seemed offensive to the SRL copyist. This is the story of how Guru Gobind Singh was allegedly persuaded to seek the blessings of Mata Devi by commissioning a hom fire ritual. 71 The SRL copyist (or an earlier version on which he was dependent) omitted this story together with material which precedes and follows it. The actual break occurred in line 5 of folio 43b at the conclusion of section 185, and the excised portion ran through to the end of section 246. It was immediately evident that some such reduction of the text had taken place as the copyist recorded the number 183 at the end of its appropriate section on folio 43a and number 250 on folio 44b. The PSP and Khalsa College manuscripts also omit the Devi story, though not in precisely the same way as SRL.

In addition to his recurrent omissions the copyist also erred in recording material which clearly had no right to be included. This ranged from simple dittography to the repetition of sentences and the mistaken insertion of four consecutive sections. 72 Where errors of this kind were noticed a yellow substance had been used to obliterate them. In two instances folios were misnumbered, 73 but in each case the sequence was correctly restored on the succeeding folio.

2. The Guru Nanak Dev University text (GNDU) The other major version of the Chaupa Singh/Nand Lal text is part of a composite manuscript in the possession of Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar. Manuscript number 1018 in the university's library consists largely of a copy of the two works. The scribe gives his name as Harinam Singh Khatri and the year in which he completed his work as S.1913 [1856-57 A.C.]. 74 The place where he performed the task is not named.

Manuscript 1018 comprises two separate collections, brought together in a single binding. The first portion is obviously part of an earlier manuscript which was evidently dismantled and divided. This is evident from its folio numbers. In its present form manuscript 1018 commences with a folio numbered 144, initiating a sequence which runs through to folio 271. This section of the composite manuscript comprises a variety of brief works, all of them rahit-namas or discourses. It concludes with the Hazar-nama (f.266a-b), Guru Nanak's discourse with Rukandin (ff.266b-269b), and the Nasīhat-nāmā (ff.270a-271a). Folio 271b is blank and is followed by three more blank folios, all with margins ruled as for the remainder of the section.

After these blank folios the portion containing the Chaupā Singh and Nand Lal rahit-namas begins. The break is clear and distinct, marked by a change of paper and hand. This latter portion is itself a composite product comprising two pagination sequences:

The first sequence, which consists of twenty folios, initiates the Chaupa Singh Rahit-nāmā. The first folio, recorded in a different hand from the remainder, has

evidently been written at a later date to replace a lost folio.

At the end of folio 20b the text continues without any intervening space, but a new hand appears and a fresh numbering sequence begins with another folio 1. This second sequence (obviously the work of Hariman Singh Khatri) proceeds through to the colophon on folio 208a.

The second sequence continues the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā and carries it to its conclusion on folio 177a. Folios 177b-195a record a metrical account of the inauguration of the Khalsa, a work which appears to be of Chhibbar provenance but does not form a part of the extant Bansāvalī-nāmā. This is in turn followed by the Nand Lāl Rahit-nāmā (folios 195a-208a) with which the sequence finally concludes. Two blank folios follow the colophon, succeeded by five unnumbered folios in praise of the Gurus. Six blank folios conclude the entire collection. The paper used for these six terminal folios corresponds to that of five blank folios at the beginning of the collection.

Each folio is 108mm, wide and 82 mm, from top to bottom. The first twenty folios of the Chaupā Singh section have seven to nine lines per side of each folio (usually eight). The second sequence almost always has eight lines per side. In terms of script and general presentation GNDU is even neater and clearer than SRL. The entire manuscript is bound in leather-covered cardboard, slightly damaged on the front and considerably dilapidated at the

Although the GNDU manuscript is almost a century later than the SRL version it supplies, in other respects, a much more satisfactory text. It is complete; it sustains the numbering sequence throughout the entire Chaupa Singh Rahit-nama; and it is recorded with much greater care than its predecessor. In spite of its significantly later date GNDU generally corresponds with the SRL text, and whenever the two diverge it is the GNDU reading which almost invariably commands acceptance. The GNDU copyist is careful where his SRL counterpart was frequently lax. Problems, which abound when one is limited to SRL, are quickly settled when the GNDU text is consulted.

For this reason the text presented in this volume is essentially that of the GNDU manuscript. Occasionally a SRL reading has been preferred, but such instances are rare. The more important of the variant SRL readings are, however, recorded in footnotes and its text is invaluable as a means of confirming the substantial reliability of GNDU. Without the testimony of SRL we should necessarily regard the comparatively late GNDU version with considerable suspicion.

3. The Khalsa College text (KhC)

The Sikh History Reference Department of Khalsa College, Amritsar, holds a modern transcription of the combined Chaupā Singh /Nand Lāl text (manuscript no. SHR 277).75 The transcription has been rather roughly made in an ordinary school notebook. A letter dated 20/6/41 pasted inside the front cover indicates that it was copied in 1941 from a manuscript held by Gurdwara Takhat Sri Damdama Sahib, Talvandi Sabo (Bhatinda District).

The text recorded in the Khalsa College notebook is very close to SRL - so close that it might well be a direct copy. 76 There are numerous minor inconsistencies (such as a tendency to convert  $nann\overline{a}$  (n) into  $n\overline{q}n\overline{q}$  (n), but almost all of these could be expected from an inexpert copyist (and it is clear that the person who copied the Khalsa College text was indeed inexpert). Obvious errors of the SRL text are replicated in the Khalsa College copy, clearly aligning it with the SRL and distinguishing it from the other two versions.<sup>77</sup> The one significant difference is that the Khalsa College transcription lacks the reference to Jind City and S.1821 with which the Sikh Reference Library manuscript concluded. This may mean that the latter is an early copy of an even earlier text which was still held at Damdama Sahib in

1941. Alternatively it may mean that the manuscript which was in the Sikh Reference Library was in fact the Damdama Sahib manuscript, transferred to Amritsar after 1941. By accident or Inexplicable intention the Khalsa College copyist may have neglected to transcribe the final colophon.

4. The Piara Singh Padam text (PSP)

The third of the Chaupā Singh/Nand Lāl texts is currently accessible only through a sparsely-annotated published edition. Both the Chaupa Singh Rahit-nāmā and the prose Nand Lal Rahit-nama appear in Piara Singh Padam's selection of rahit-nama texts entitled Rahit-name. 18 In the introduction to his volume the compiler includes a brief note describing the various manuscripts which he used in preparing his selection. The portion of this note which, at first sight, seems to relate to his Nand Lal prose text is as follows:

The early rahit-namas of Bhai Nand Lal and Bhai Prahilad Singh were obtained from the house of a granthi living in a village near Anandpur . . . 79

It seems likely, however, that this refers to the *Prasan-uttar* and the *Tanakhāh-nāmā*, both ultributed to Nand Lal and reproduced in Piara Singh Padam's collection. 80 The Nand Lal prose text which other manuscripts attach to the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā was probably attached to the Chaupā Singh text transcribed by Piara Singh Padam. 81 If so, both are covered by the following note:

A manuscript of the Bhai Chaupa Singh Rahit-nama was formerly in the possession of a Chhibbar family of Gujrat [Pakistan]. A copy of this dated 1764 A.C. is held by the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar (no. 6124). A copy was in the possession of Giani Karnail Singh of Amritsar, and from this a copy was made by Bhai Randhir Singh. This is the text which has been used.82

It seems safe to assume that Piara Singh Padam has transcribed and published the copy made by Randhir Singh, at least in the case of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā. His text is certainly not a copy of SRL and the sequence of names which he gives in his introductory note seems clearly to imply that he is using the latest version rather than the predecessor once held by (liani Karnail Singh. This much seems clear. There are, however, some important questions which are left unanswered:

(1) What is the source of the information concerning a Chhibbar family manuscript formerly held in Gujrat?

b) Where is this Gujrat manuscript now?

c) When Piara Singh Padam writes that the Sikh Reference Library manuscript is a copy of this' version (is dī ik kāpī) does he mean a copy of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā in the general sense, or is he referring specifically to the Gujrat manuscript? If the latter, what is the source of his information?

(l) In what manner did the Karnail Singh manuscript relate to SRL?

It should also be noted that Padam's brief survey of Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā manuscripts makes no mention of either GNDU or the one held by the Khalsa College Sikh History Research Department, nor does it refer to the Damdama Sahib original from which the latter was copied in 1941.

Although Piara Singh Padam's treatment fails to cover these issues a certain amount can be deduced from a comparison of his published text with GNDU, SRL, and the Khalsa College manuscript. Whereas these three manuscripts present texts which are closely analagous, the PSP text is distinctively different. All four can be regarded as representatives of a single extant text, for they all incorporate the same fourfold pattern. There are, however, numerous variants allstinguishing the PSP text from the other versions. Four of the variants which deserve notice are the following:

a) The PSP text commences with an introductory prologue which the other manuscripts lack. 83 This prologue offers an account of the rahit-nama's origin which conflicts with that of the manuscript's colophon.<sup>84</sup> It has obviously been appended to an earlier version of the text.

b) The PSP text lacks the erratic passage comprising sections 113-116 which occurs in the other three manuscripts.

c) Like the SRL and Khalsa College versions the PSP text omits the portion which includes the account of Guru Gobind Singh's alleged hom ceremony (194-247). It also omits the lengthy series of anecotes illustrating the condign punishment awaiting those who oppose or defame the Guru (248-280). In this latter respect it differs from all three of the other versions.

d) Whereas the PSP version concludes with the colophon, the other manuscripts append a supplement. This supplement adds further comment concerning the coming anarchy and records a blessing which the Guru allegedly bestowed on the

descendants of a certain Bhai Mittu. 85

The PSP text is slightly shorter than the other three, for in addition to the material noted above under (b)-(d) the text represented by the other three manuscripts is more prone to minor supplements. The word-count, however, is not important. What matters is that a comparison of the two texts plainly suggests a certain relationship and a clear priority. The overwhelming dominance of their common material indicates a common source, one in which the four major Chaupā Singh components had already been brought together. Indeed, as we have noted above, it is probably safe to assume that the manuscript utilised by Piara Singh Padam also included the Nand Lāl prose rahit-nama and that one can accordingly recognise a common source comprising five major components. The differences are nevertheless important. They signal a divergence, one which will require closer analysis in a later section. At this point it is sufficient to note that the language and glosses of the PSP version mark it as a later recension than the main text recorded in the other three manuscripts.

# The origins of the Chaupa Singh/Nand Lal text

An examination of the available texts thus indicates shared dependence on a single five-part source, together with some significant variants. The sequence which has emerged may be tabulated as follows:

Introduction Rahit-nama ( <i>Chaupā Singh</i> ) 1	Section numbers - 1-156	GNDU - folio nos.	SRL folio nos. - 1a-34b	KhC folio nos - 1a-22b	PSP page nos 68-70 70-87
Narrative (Chhibbar tradition) I	157 100	(1a-48b			
	157-188	48b-62b	34b-44a	22b-29a	87-92
Rahit-nama briefly resumed	189-204	62b-65 <b>b</b>	4 -	-	92-93
Narrative cont: hom ceremony	205-249	65b-82b	-	-	-
Rahit-nama briefly resumed	250-252	82b-83b	44b-45a	29a-b	_
Anecdotal series	253-267	836-946	45a-52a	29b-35a	_
Linking passage	268-285	946-986	52a-55a	36b-37a	93
Rahit-nama (Chaupā Singh) II	286-568	98b-13 <i>5</i> b	55a-75a	37a-52b	93-109
Narrative (Chhibbar tradition) II	569-643	135b-174a	75a-94b	52b-67b	109-121
ChS post-colophon addendum	644-647	174a-177a	94b-96b	67b-69a	
Rahit-nama (Nand Lāi)	Unnumbered	195a-208a	96b-104a	la-6b	48-52

This sequence constitutes what may, in a general sense, be regarded as the extant text. The existence of major variants means, of course, that the term 'extant text' is open to an obvious objection. The degree of correspondence is nevertheless sufficiently close to provide a defensible justification and if its general nature is clearly understood the term should prove useful.

At this point, however, attention is to be focused on the individual sections which have been juxtaposed to form the sequence. Our objective must first be to examine them as discrete units, endeavouring to identify their respective origins. Having pursued this issue as far as possible we shall then attempt to reconstruct the process whereby such distinctively different components were linked to form the extant text.

# 1. Rahit-nama (Chaupā Singh) I and II

Four of the five major components in the sequence tabulated above together constitute the bulk

of the extant Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā. It has already been suggested that two of these four components were evidently drawn from a single source. These are the two portions which munciate the Rahit (sections 1-156 and 286-568). The two minor clusters of Rahit injunctions (189-204 and 250-252) presumably derive from the same source.

It seems most unlikely that the extant text represents the original version of this broken sequence. Had this been the case it would probably have been marked by smoother conclusions and introductions. As it stands the structure of the text (particularly the connections between the various components) gives the distinct impression that the copyist responsible for the composite product is working intermittently from a recorded source at his

disposal.

The assumption that the rahit-nama portions were derived from a common source is further attengthened by a general correspondence in terms of language. Although the differing intentions of the two sections produces a range of distinctive usages in each case, 88 there is nevertheless a sufficient consistency to support the notion of a single origin. Prominent lentures which link the two include the adverbial forms hode bal and jathā sakat, the conjunction athavā, the verb varataṇā, and the adjective suchet. The actual content likewise supports the common source theory. Here too the differing intentions produce distinctive runges of material, but a general consistency remains and one looks in vain for serious lineongruity or contradiction.

It therefore seems safe to conclude that the compiler of the extant text drew both of his rubit-nama sections from a single manuscript source. This, however, merely disposes of the relatively simple secondary question. The primary question concerns the origin of that single manuscript source and here we encounter serious difficulty. The traditional claim is that it was a work by the tenth Guru's personal servant Chaupa Singh. This simple claim is complicated by the complete absence of a manuscript copy of any work directly attributed to Chaupa Singh; by the consensus view that his rahit-nama (if in fact it ever existed) has been extensively

corrupted; and by the limited supply of materials for analysis.

Bhai Kahn Singh has already been cited as an example of the consensus view concerning a corrupted original. Belsewhere in Mahān Koś Kahn Singh includes an entry which implies that in his view the corrupting process must have amounted to much more than a series of amendments and interpolations. The second of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā sections is primarily concerned with a detailed examination of what constitutes a tanakhāh and who is to be regarded as a tanakhāhārā. In Sikh usage tanakhāh means a 'religious punishment' or pomunce imposed for a violation of the Rahit, and a tanakhāhā is the person who commits any nucli offence. According to Kahn Singh these two related terms derive from a period later than the death of Chaupa Singh. The normal meaning of tanakhāh is 'salary' and it was tanakhāh in the ordinary sense of money, land, or goods which the Mughal authorities bestowed on Sikh leaders of the Lahore and Jalandhar territories in an attempt to shore up their town crumbling authority. Any Sikh who accepted such grants was stigmatised as a tanakhāhāā liy his self-respecting brethren, the word being used in a contemptuous sense corresponding to 'litreling'. With the passing of time the word underwent a further shift in meaning and came to be applied to those who violated the Rahit. 91

The period to which Kahn Singh refers is presumably 1733-35. It was during these years that the Lahore authorities endeavoured to placate the troublesome Sikhs, notably by offering a laght to Kapur Singh. The shift in meaning from 'hireling' to 'violator of the Rahit' would have required a few more years and it seems safe to assume (if one accepts Kahn Singh's alymology) that the latter meaning would not have been generally current before 1740. One of the two rahit-nama sections of the extant Chaupā Singh text is firmly founded on the latter meaning and is devoted to defining it in explicit detail. There is no room here for an interpolation theory. The sense of the section is informed by a particular understanding of the key terms tanakhāh and tanakhāhīā, and if Kahn Singh's argument is carried to its logical conclusion it necessarily follows that the entire section must have been composed after 1740.

There is no evidence which suggests that the two key terms were used in their distinctively likh senses any earlier than the period indicated by Kahn Singh and the argument based on his

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etymology is accordingly persuasive. It is supported by the length and detail of the two rahit-nama sections, and by some of the concerns which they express. Two such concerns are prominent examples of the kind of content which has prompted interpolation theories. Guru Gobind Singh could never have enjoined eternal enmity towards Muslims, nor could he have sanctioned special privilege for Brahman Sikhs. 92 It therefore follows that injunctions which give expression to such attitudes must necessarily be interpolations. This, however, assumes that the original source was a direct response to the Guru's actual instructions, written within his entourage and personally approved by him. A more convincing interpretation brings the rahit-nama's origins up to the middle of the eighteenth century and there sets them within a Chhibbar context. Vehement hostility towards Muslims was by then well established and pro-Brahman sympathies need cause no surprise if they emanate from a Chhibbar source.

It therefore seems reasonable to postulate a rahit-nama source compiled with the Chhibbar family near the middle of the eighteenth century. It is true that the Chhibbar connection receives only limited support from the actual content of the two rahit-nama sections contained within the extant Chaupa Singh text. If, however, we relate them to their context within the extant text this feature of the hypothesis becomes much firmer. The range and detail of the content points to a period well into the eighteenth century. Kahn Singh's etymology indicates a date later than 1740 and the colophon of the SRL manuscript places it prior to 1765. The context of the two sections, possibly supported by their pro-Brahman stance, points to a Chhibbar origin. Although the theory is not one which can be definitively affirmed it is at least plausible. The likelihood appears to be that the source rahit-nama was compiled in Chhibbar circles very close to the middle of the eighteenth century. One nagging doubt which must remain concerns the authenticity of the SRL colophon. There is, however, no evident reason to

Does this conclusion destroy the Chhibbar claim, insistently advanced by both the extant text and the Bansavalī-nāmā, that the Guru's servant Chaupa Singh once compiled a rahit-nama? The evidence is not sufficient to disprove this claim, though it falls far short of establishing it. What can be safely affirmed is that the rahit-nama used as a source for the extant Chaupā Singh text was not the work of Chaupa Singh Chhibbar. It is possible that he may have compiled or dictated an earlier text, subsequently utilised by a later generation of Chhibbar relatives. That, however, is something which presumably we shall never know.

# 2. Narrative (Chhibbar tradition) I and II

The two main narrative sections present a situation similar to that of the two rahit-nama portions. Both narrative sections can plausibly be traced to the same common source, and the source itself can be set within the Chhibbar family tradition. In the case of the narrative sections there seems to be no room for doubt concerning their Chhibbar provenance. It also appears that their common source (unlike that of the rahit-nama sections) was an oral tradition, not a document.

Four major features are shared by the two narrative sections. Together they point unmistakably to a common source of a particular kind.

a) Common Attribution. Both sections are attributed to Chaupa Singh and both use the specific

wording das chaupā singh or mai[n] das chaupā singh. 93

b) Common Language. Both sections are written in the same vigorous mixture of Lahndi and Majhi. The interlacing of the two dialects is particularly evident in the various tenses of the substantive verb. Both sections fluctuate in their usage, the usage in each case reflecting the dominant concern of the section. Because the first section chronicles the past the Lahndi form which appears is  $\bar{a}he$ , used as a past tense. The second section, by contrast, looks to the future, with the result that frequent use is made of host and hosan. Both sections make repeated use of the idiomatic Lahndi form bachan hoa. Both are also distinguished by their shared preference for the titles sāhib and pūran purakh rather than gurū.

c) Common Themes. The following themes appear in both sections:

Narrative I Narrative II The Chhibbars exalted 162, 170-174 583-586 The Muslim threat 159 589-591, 595, 598 The setting apart of the Panth 178, 183, 248-49 570, 590-93, 595-96 The disloyalty of the masands 184-188 590

1) Common Tradition. The fact that both narrative sections derive from a common tradition is most strikingly demonstrated by their shared relationship to Kesar Singh Chhibbar's Hunsavali-nama. In the case of the first narrative section the relationship is illustrated by the passages which describe the following incidents:

	Chāupa Singh	Bansāvalī-nāmā
The consecration of Guru Gobind Singh	168-169	9:160-6
The appointment of Sahib Chand and		
Dharam Chand	170-173	10:25-28
Devi Das's homilies	174	10:13-14, 24, 31
Failure to secure the original Adi		
Granth	176	10:295-6, 376-7
The institution of kes baptism	178-183	10:305-30
Cheto and other disobedient masands	184-186	10:331-55
The fire ritual to summon Maia Devi	208-235	10:53-175

A comparison of their respective treatments in each instance shows that there are differences of detail which distinguish the Bansavali-nama chronicle from that of the Chaupa Slingh Rahit-nāmā. When, for example, siropas are presented to Sahib Chand and Dharam Chand the former claims that they were brought by Chaupa Singh, whereas the latter names the bearer as Sadhu Ram.<sup>94</sup> There is, however, a considerable area of close resemblance together with some striking cases of total convergence. 95 Both works enunciate the same four-fold division of the Khalsa in their accounts of the Mata Devi fire ritual;96 and the Hansāvalī-nāmā shares with the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā its anxious concern for the status of Brahmans within the Panth.

The pattern of correspondence revealed by this comparison makes the existence of a common source-tradition abundantly clear. The same pattern applies in the case of the second unrrative sequence incorporated in the Chaupa Singh Rahit-nama. The second sequence corresponds to the Bansavali-nama in its repeated use of the key word raula (turnult) as a description of contemporary times; and the two accounts present parallel treatments of the traditional cosmogonic schema with its promise of the Kalki theophany. 97 The fact that the two Chaupa Singh narrative sequences belong to the same tradition is illustrated by the rempearance of the four-fold division of the Khalsa in the second sequence. 98 Plainly there is n common tradition, and because each narrative section shares it with the Bansavalī-nāmā they also share it with each other.

Two conclusions follow from this range of common characteristics. The first is that both narrative sections are drawn from the same source; and the second is that it was clearly a Chhibbar source. As we have already indicated, there is no evidence which suggests that this common source existed in the form of a manuscript. Had this been the case it would presumably have been named by Kesar Singh Chhibbar in his list of sources. 99 Kesar Singh mentions no such document. Instead he frequently cites sunī sunāī hearsay. 100 This, it seems, was his principal source and this 'hearsay' we can identify, in large measure, with Chhibbar oral tradition. Shared dependence on a mutable oral tradition also serves to explain the numerous differences of detail which distinguish the Chaupā Singh and Bansāvalī-nāmā treatment of common material. A document would have fixed the details. It would also have conferred a greater measure of verbal correspondence on its two descendants.

Within this oral tradition of the Chhibbar family two distinct interests can be perceived. One was a historical interest, a chronology of the family's past with particular emphasis on its record of service to the Gurus. The other was an interpretation of contemporary events, one which took a particularly hostile view of the Panth's mid-century leadership and predicted a elecline into total chaos as a result of its selfish disloyalty. The first of these interests provided the source for all that was recorded in the first of the Chaupā Singh narrative sequences. The second narrative sequence continued to draw from this historical tradition, but its primary concern focuses on the family view of contemporary developments. The Bansāvalī-nāmā

likewise draws from both sectors of the family tradition.

This much seems clear, but once again the role of Chaupa Singh Chhibbar remains uncertain. Although the extant text is insistent in its claims that the narrative material derives from him, reasons for doubting these claims persist. At most we can acknowledge a possibility. Chaupa Singh could conceivably have left oral reminiscences which the Chhibbar family preserved and transmitted. As with the rahit-nama sections, however, it is a weak possibility. Four features point to this conclusion:

a) One's suspicions are aroused by the claim that Chaupa Singh was personally involved in an incident concerning the mysterious appearance of a ghostly sadhu. <sup>101</sup> Anecdotes of this kind are sometimes amenable to rational interpretation, but normally they spell legend.

b) Much of the second narrative section reflects the circumstances of the

mid-eighteenth century, a generation after the death of Chaupa Singh.

c) The Chhibbars who are exalted in both sections are not in fact the lineage of Chaupa Singh. They are members of the collateral line descended from Chaupa Singh's uncle Praga. 102 The extant text represents a version commissioned by a member of this collateral line, Gurbakhsh Singh; and Gurbakhsh Singh's father is the object of particular attention. 103 The distinctively Chhibbar emphasis offered by the two narrative portions strongly suggests an origin within Gurbakhsh Singh's own lineage rather than that of Chaupa Singh. Both were probably first committed to writing under the direct patronage of Gurbakhsh Singh

d) Much of the narrative which involves Chaupa Singh personally (such incidents as the first Khalsa initiation) is in conflict with other sources. If in fact Chaupa Singh did bestow an oral narrative tradition on his Chhibbar successors, either it must have been studded with inaccuracies or, alternatively, it must have been subjected to substantial change and augmentation during the period of subsequent transmission. It is difficult to accept the historical portions of the extant Chaupā Singh text as the accurate reporting of an eye-witness participant. If they do represent accurate reporting some major rewriting of Khalsa history

will be required.

3. The first recension of the extant text

Within the extant text there is a colophon which seems to mark a clear stage in its formation. The following words appear at the conclusion of the second narrative section:

The Supreme Guru in his mercy performed that most wondrous deed, the creation of the Panth; and on Chaupa Singh he conferred the gift of understanding [whereby the recording of this rahit-nama was made possible. The original document bears] the signature of Bulaka Singh, the amanuensis appointed with the approval of the Master [Guru Gobind Singh. The present copy of] the rahit-nama was recorded at the instance of Gurbakhsh Singh, son of the Guru's treasurer Dharam Chand, the Chhibbar Brahman. 104

This colophon appears before the Nand Lal portion of the extant text, terminating an original four-part sequence which comprises the two rahit-nama portions and the two narrative sections. There is no reason why the substance of this colophon should be disbelieved. We have already shown cause to question the existence of a document bearing the imprimatur of Guru Gobind Singh, but this scepticism need not extend to the claim that Gurbakhsh Singh Chhibbar commissioned a compilation which included both rahit-nama and narrative. On the contrary, it fits our hypothesis admirably. We may thus conclude that the first recension of the so-called Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā was recorded near the middle of the eighteenth century in response to instructions issued by Gurbakhsh Singh Chhibbar. The language of the compiler was a mixture of Majhi and Lahndi, a feature which suggests that the task was probably performed with the home territory of the Chhibbars (the Jammu/Jhelum area).

One may ask why Gurbakhsh Singh (or his agent) should have compiled a text which, at first sight, seems so disjointed. A two-part text (one for the complete rahit-nama and one for the entire narrative) might well appear to be a more logical, consistent sequence. Closer analysis suggests, however, that there is a logic implicit in the four-part sequence. Each part

possesses a distinctive character and the sequence may be represented as follows:

n) the requirements of the Rahit;

h) the origins of the Rahit;

(i) violations of the Rahit;

(l) contemporary neglect of the Rahit and its imminent consequences.

This is not merely a logical sequence. It is also one which may serve to explain why the intrative portions have found their way into a work avowedly designed to expound the Rahit. The first recension of the extant text has a consistency which may not be evident to a cursory glance. It seems that our original Chhibbar compiler may not have been as inept as first impressions might suggest.

d. Rahit-nama (Nand Lal)

(Jurbakhsh Singh's colophon makes it clear that the prose rahit-nama attributed to Nand Lal was no part of the original compilation. It is, however, evident that this interesting supplement was added to the first recension within the space of a few years. This is indicated by the date of the SRL manuscript and by the manner in which it incorporates the Nand Lal Rahit-nama. It is most unlikely that the Nand Lal Rahit-nama was first appended to a Chaupa Singh text by the SRL copyist. As we shall see, the Nand Lal text seems to have been filtered through the Chhibbar tradition, and it is scarcely possible that two Chhibbar products should have been first brought together by a copyist working in far-off Jind. The linking of the two rahit-namas was presumably done by a predecessor, prior to 1765. This is indicated by the fact that the GNDU manuscript obviously belongs to a textual lineage independent of SRL. It is inconceivable that the fuller, more accurate GNDU text could have descended from the briefer SRL version with its numerous errors. From this it follows that the two lineages must be traced to an earlier original which first brought the two rahit-namas together. The same conclusion is supported by the manner in which the SRL copyist commenced the Nand Lal portion of his text without starting a new line. 105 This suggests that he was working from a manuscript which had already brought the two rahit-namas together.

From the version recorded in all the extant manuscripts it seems clear that the Nand Lal appendix originally existed as a distinct and separate-rahit-nama. Its distinctive quality is lamplied by the use of a formal invocation to introduce the new material, and is confirmed by the recognisably different approach which it adopts. It appears, however, that the Chhibbar tradition appropriated only a portion of the separate rahit-nama. This is suggested by the abrupt beginning which follows the invocation and by the fragmentary form of the recorded Nand Lal

text

The most conspicuous example of difference in content and approach is provided by the Nand Lāl attitude towards Brahmans. Although there are evident signs of editorial softening the original thrust of the Nand Lāl message seems plainly to have been an uncompromising rejection of Brahmanical privilege and authority within the Panth. Some distinctive usages also support the notion of a separate origin. The expression pūran purakh favoured in Chaupā Slingh does not appear in Nand Lāl, and sāhib, which appears only once, 106 seems to refer to Akal Purakh rather than to the Guru. The word gurū is repeatedly used and satigurū appears several times. This is not the Chaupā Singh style, nor is the Nand Lāl treatment of passages from the sacred scriptures. Whereas the Chaupā Singh text almost invariably prefaces scriptural quotations with the formula sākh granth sāhib jī (or a variant version) the Nand Lāl text presents its four examples unannounced.

There are thus differences which distinguish the Nand Lāl and Chaupā Singh texts. Equally clear, however, are features which link the extant text of the Nand Lāl Rahit-nāmā with the Chhibbar tradition. This is evident not merely from the fact that it has been appended to the Chhibbar product, but also from a general harmony of language and from the editorial attention noted above. Although the Nand Lāl prose contains its own distinctive terminology it is nevertheless couched in the same mixture of Kendari and Lahndi as that of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā. Verb forms are generally Kendari, but one encounters Lahndi forms with a frequency corresponding to Chaupā Singh usage. 107 The editorial attention appears in an attempt to redirect the shafts aimed at Brahmans. The Nand Lāl rejection of Brahmanical status and authority occurs in several places and is normally unqualified. 108 There is, however, one

passage which distinguishes acceptable Brahmans from the unacceptable. The Brahmans who are to be spurned are those who defile their status by smoking tobacco or eating meat. 109 Others, by clear implication, are to be regarded as worthy and approved.

The contradiction with regard to Brahmanical authority seems clear and is best explained as an editorial gloss. If this is correct it can be safely assumed that the amendment must derive from those rare examples of Brahman Sikhs, the Chhibbars. The language correspondence and the manuscript linkage support this assumption. It accordingly seems likely that part of a non-Chhibbar rahit-nama has been introduced into the Chhibbar corpus, its entry smoothed by a measure of language and content editing. This, however, appears to be the limit of our knowledge concerning the origins of the Nand Lal text. The possibility that it might be correctly attributed to the famous Nand Lal Goya of the tenth Guru's entourage can be safely discarded. The text does not in fact claim his authorship. It merely purports to record a conversation between the Guru and Nand Lal and in so doing offers no evidence which might support its claim. The claim cannot be simply accepted at face value, for attributions of this kind were a stock method of asserting doctrinal authority. Nand Lal has been a favoured figure in this respect. This prose text is one of three rahit-namas which claim to report his conversations with Guru Gobind Singh.

5. Anecdotal sequence and linking passage

The series of anecdotes which runs from 253 to 267 is a puzzle. Together with the linking passage which follows it (268-285) this sequence constitutes the most perplexing portion of the entire text, at least with regard to its origins and the timing of its introduction into the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā. Did it form a part of the original composite text, or was it added at a later stage?

The fact that the sequence was included in the SRL text demonstrates that it must have been introduced at a comparatively early stage. This alone, however, does not establish its claim to be a part of the original compilation. The claim can be defended on the following grounds:

a) The sequence (unlike the Nand Lāl Rahit-nāmā) is incorporated in the numbering system of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā.

b) The hostility towards Khatris which it displays matches the Chhibbar attitude expressed elsewhere in the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā (section 579).

As opposed to these features the following may be held to dispute the claim:
a) The PSP text lacks the anecdotal sequence.

b) The language of the sequence incorporates a stronger Kendari influence than that of the other narrative portions included in the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā.

c) The transitions which precede and follow the sequence are singularly awkward.

Of these three latter arguments the second and third are particularly persuasive, strongly suggesting that the anecdotal sequence and linking passage must have been introduced by a copyist after an original four-part text had been recorded. The fact that they form a part of the numbering system must surely mean, however, that if not a part of the original text they were certainly introduced at a very early stage. If this was indeed the case it would, of course, follow that the numbering system was not a part of the original version.

6. The Chaupa Singh post-colophon addendum

It is clear from the colophon which appears as section 643 of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā that the text commissioned by Gurbakhsh Singh Chhibbar terminated at this point. The PSP text does in fact end here, but not the other manuscripts. An addendum has been attached to the version which appears in GNDU, SRL, and the Khalsa College manuscript (644-647). Most of this addendum records material which merely extends the preceding section's apocalyptic description of the time of tumult. Set within it, however, is the claim that the Guru conferred blessing on an unidentified Bhai Mittu and his descendants. This claim presumably points to the reason for introducing the addendum. The entire passage sustains the Lahndi influence of the preceding narrative. This, together with its apocalyptic content, suggests that it originated

within the Chhibbar circle.

1. The introduction appended to the PSP text.

The introductory prologue attached to the PSP text<sup>111</sup> purports to relate the circumstances in which the first rahit-nama was recorded. Although it evidently draws on the Chhibbar tradition it contradicts the standard claim that the first rahit-nama was prepared by Chaupa Singh. The link, it asserts, was performed by a group of mukate Sikhs. <sup>112</sup> Chaupa Singh is nowhere mentioned. The prologue also contradicts the main text by prohibiting recourse to Brahmans for ceremonial purposes. <sup>113</sup>

The connection with the Chhibbar tradition is indicated by the role assigned to mukate Sikhs and parts of the text indicate direct influence from the Bansāvalī-nāmā. This, it seems, was probably the source of the distinctive terminology employed in the introductory prologue. 114 The story which it tells is, however, a deviant tradition and the modernity of its language indicates an origin much later than that of the main Chaupā Singh text. The principal importance of this appended introduction is the assistance which it provides in dating the PSP text. In its present form the PSP text is obviously much later than that recorded in the GNDU and SRL manuscripts. It is impossible to date it accurately, but it evidently carries us well into the nineteenth century. Indeed, it may carry us as far as the beginning of the twentieth century. This possibility is suggested by its support for the Anand marriage ceremony and its opposition to caste discrimination within the Panth. These concerns may well point to the period of the Singh Sabha reform movement. 115

# III. CONTENT

The Khalsa Rahit according to the Chaupa Singh Rahit-nāmā

Although the two rahit-nama sections of the Chaupā Singh text agree in terms of ideology and content they differ considerably with regard to format. Whereas the first sequence (sections 1-156) enunciates positive precepts, the second (286-568) chiefly comprises a lengthy list of offences which require reparation. Stray injunctions are also to be found in other parts of the loxt, particularly in the linking passage which leads into the catalogue of offences (268-285).

The positive purpose of the Rahit is well expressed by the quotations from sacred scripture which the compiler sets at the beginning and end of his formal exposition. The fundamental annumption which lies behind the existence of the Rahit is belief in the reality of karam (kurma) and  $\bar{a}v\bar{a}gavan$ , of transmigration in accordance with the discharge of one's dharam (tharma). He who faithfully discharges the obligations of his dharam will earn for himself the means of release from the round of death and rebirth. Guru Nanak had taught that the means of release was to be found in the divine Name  $(n\bar{a}m)$ . The secret lay in devout meditation on the divine Name  $(n\bar{a}m simaran)$  and in living a life of corresponding piety. The Rahit, traditionally believed to have been promulgated by the tenth Guru, specifies in explicit detail the attitudes and behaviour which constitute true living for any follower of the Guru. For the loyal Sikh dharam is defined as undivided allegiance to the Guru. The actual practice of this allegiance means unswerving obedience to the Guru's Rahit.

The Rahit thus comprises a pattern of law and regulation, voluntarily accepted by those who recognise their true *dharam* as loyalty to the Guru. It is, however, more than an individual preference chosen by those who appreciate its worth and practised in isolation from other members of the society. It is emphatically corporate and any individual who attaches his total allegiance to the Guru must necessarily identify with all others who acknowledge the same allegiance. He must, in other words, become a member of the Guru's Khalsa, the Khalsa Panth.

This corporate identity implies a further dimension. If there is to be order and discipline within the Panth there must obviously be sanctions. This, in turn, means that transgressions must be viewed as culpable offences threatening the Panth's stability. Appropriate penalties should therefore be devised to deter the lax and wayward. This need led to the concept of

tanakhāh. Any Sikh who violates the Rahit and thus threatens to subvert the Khalsa Panth is to be compared with those treacherous hirelings who serve the Panth's enemies in return for remuneration (tanakhāh). In response to this comparison the word quickly underwent a change of meaning. Ever since the mid-eighteenth century the penalty or penance for an offence against the Rahit has been known as a tanakhāh and the offender as a tanakhāhīā. 119

The concept of tanakhāh looms large in the Chaupā Singh presentation of the Rahit and almost all the items recorded in the second section conclude with the formula so tanakhāhīā, 'she/she] is a tanakhahia'. This produces a standard format: 'The Sikh who [offence specified] is a tanakhahia'. Less clear is the procedure whereby guilt is to be recognised and declared, the nature of the punishment which is to be imposed and the sanctions which were available to enforce it. It seems that the answers to these practical questions were sufficiently familiar in the mid-eighteenth century to be taken for granted. Later readers must therefore rely largely on hint and assumption.

One safe assumption is that the judgement process would have involved the local sangat. An item which appears as section 306 may imply that the local village headman performed a role in this respect. In Sikh society, however, the sangat is traditionally supreme, and it should cause no surprise if a rahit-nama compiler should take its function and its supremacy for granted. 120 One variety of penalty is clearly stated elsewhere in the Chaupā Singh text. Five hundred rupees are brought to Guru Gobind Singh by his treasurer and are specifically declared to be the proceeds from tanakhāh fines. 121 Other forms of punishment would presumably have included penitential service in the dharamsala. The sanction which ensured its performance would doubtless have been the pressure of opinion within the sangat.

Information concerning judicial procedures and punishments is thus very scanty. The compiler's objective was to state the demands of the Rahit as he understood it and this he does in abundant detail. <sup>122</sup> Although he occasionally groups his injunctions and misdemeanours according to topic <sup>123</sup> most are recorded with little concern for coherence or logical sequence. There is, however, obvious benefit to be gained from systematising the compiler's random scatter and the remainder of the section will be directed to this purpose. Where convenient a literal translation will be used, but much of the material will be presented in paraphrased form. This should enable us to achieve greater coherence by abbreviating some items and conflating others. Injunctions which are relevant to more than one part of the total pattern will be repeated in a few important instances. Others which are duplicated will be omitted. Needless to say, every effort has been made to represent the import of each item faithfully and no extraneous materal has been introduced. In all cases the source section is indicated in parentheses after the injunction.

# THE RAHIT (CHAUPĀ SINGH TEXT)

### 1. Personal behaviour

a) General principles:

(i) A Gursikh must be benevolent and sympathetic, fair and impartial, patient and forgiving, compassionate, generous, never mean. [39, 40, 104, 120, 121, 189]

It is the Guru's will that every Sikh should show love towards others and express that love in service. The Gursikh who sows love and affection will reap blessings a thousandfold. [88,153]

(iii) A Gursikh should never be proud, arrogant or deceitful, [34-35, 471]

(iv) Anger is particularly polluting and must be avoided while eating, giving charity, or singing hymns. [123]

(v) A Gursikh should associate with others of exemplary character in order that he may assimilate their qualities of love, trust, piety and wisdom. He should never associate with the perverse. [120, 121, 123]

(vi) A Gursikh should never break his word. [465]

(vii) The qualities which accompany the faithful Gursikh at death are compassion, charity. austerities, devotion, continence, truth, humility, his faith as a Sikh, service to the Guru and service to others. [270-273]

b) Doctrine and devotion

The Gursikh should praise and glorify the Guru, and should obey his commands. He should never criticise the Guru, nor should he permit others to do so. He should never pretend to be the Guru's equal. [125, 448, 534]

The ten Gurus must be recognised as ten incarnations of the one eternal Guru, [502]

A Gursikh should show respect to:

- descendants of the Gurus;

- places associated with the Gurus;

- all who serve the Gurus;

- the Gurus' writings [107, 449].

- Every Gursikh should know the Guru's mantra (guramantar)<sup>124</sup> and should learn Japii by heart. He should recite the Guru's mantra and Japii every day. [87, 337,
- A Gursikh should read or hear the Guru's Word every day, and should regularly meditate on it. He should accept the spiritual message (sikhi ) communicated by the Granth Sahib. [126, 548]

A Gursikh should memorize portions of the Gurus' writings. [149] A Gursikh should regularly repeat 'vāh gurū' . 125 [142, 504]

(i) The daily discipline

During the last watch of the night a Gursikh should rise and bathe (or at least perform the five ablutions). 126 He should then recite Japji five times, together with any other bani which he may know by heart, and should conclude with Ardas 127 Next he should proceed to the dharamsala where he should make an offering, prostrate himself, and join his fellow Sikhs in praise to the Guru. He should then proceed to his daily labours. [1-2]

At dusk he should participate in Sodar Rahirās, 128 preferably in a dharamsala but otherwise at his home. After his evening meal he should join his fellow Sikhs at worship in the dharamsala. [3]

Before sleeping he should perform kirtan. [120]

il) Dress and outward appearance

(I) Clothing

- 1. A Kes-dhari Sikh is not permitted to wear either a cap (topī) or a loin-cloth.
- 2. A Gursikh's tunic must be fastened at the front, not at the side. [380]

3. A Gursikh should never wear red garments. [381]

- 4. A Gursikh should never sleep naked. He should wear at least a kachh, and should also wear a turban. 129 [191, 477-78]
- 15. A Gursikh should wear a kachh, carry a kirpan, and keep his hair uncut (kachh, kirapan, kes ), (7a)  $1^{130}$

(||) Hair and kes

- 1. The hair of a Kes-dhari Sikh must be left uncut from birth. His kes, facial hair, body hair, and pubic hair must all remain uncut. [54, 61, 80, 295, 360]
- 2. A Sahaj-dhari Sikh may remove his body hair with scissors, but he must not touch either his beard or (if living as a family man) his pubic hair. [53, 54, 287]

3. Hair should always be kept clean. It must never be dyed. [54, 347]

4. The Gursikh must always protect the dignity of his kes and thus preserve the honour of his Sikh faith. The kes is the outward symbol of the inward faith of the Sikh. It is the seal of the Guru, the visible sign of loyalty to his teachings. [92, 145]

5. The Gursikh should take care of his kes. He should comb it twice a day and wash it with curds. It should never be touched with dirty hands, and it must be protected from

insect infestation. [92, 335-36, 527-28]

- 6. The kes must not be washed with soap or salt-earth detergent. If possible it should be washed with curds. The curds must not be made from sheep's milk. [335, 390, 482]
- 7. The hair of the kes should never be vigorously winnowed with one's hands when drying it after washing, [473]

8. The kes must never be permitted to remain tangled, [524]

9. White hairs must not be plucked from the kes. [346]

10. The hair of the beard must not be nibbled with one's teeth, nor should it be trimmed with scissors or plucked with tweezers. [411]

11. The kes must be kept covered when walking in a bazaar, sitting in a bazaar, travelling, or eating [518-21]

12. The kes must never be allowed to hang loose in the presence of women, [525]

13. An adult male Sikh must not permit women to pick insects out of his kes. [522]

14. Always use terms of respect when referring to one's kes. Never call it 'hair' (vāl). After washing the kes speak of 'refreshing' it, not 'drying' it, [510, 526]

(iii) The turban

1. A turban must be freshly tied each time it is put on. [334]

2. A Kes-dhari Sikh must never use a waist-cloth as a turban. [297]

3. A Gursikh must never pull another Sikh's turban, nor knock it from his head. If his own turban falls to the ground he must apologise. [312-13, 323]

4. The turban should not be removed before eating. [542]

5. A turban should be worn while sleeping. [191, 478]

e) Bathing

(i) A Gursikh should never bathe naked. He should wear a kachh. [148, 340]

(ii) A Gursikh must bathe after sexual intercourse. [5, 368]

(iii) A Gursikh should never pour strained water on his head. [19]

(iv) A Gursikh should never bathe at a dhobi ghat. [119]

f) Personal hygiene

(i) Hands must be washed before kneading dough. [105]

(ii) Before eating a Gursikh should wash his hands and rinse his mouth. [8]

(iii) Finger-nails should not be permitted to grow long. [105]

(iv) Never defecate in a field of grain or beside water. Do not speak while defecating. [475, 476, 540]

(v) After defecating a Gursikh should use earth to cleanse his anus, employing only his left hand in the process. He should then perform the five ablutions. The mere washing of hands is not sufficient. [106, 333, 466]

(vi) After urinating a Gursikh must wash his hands. [475]

g) Family responsibility

(i) Parents must be cared for, and they should always be obeyed provided that they are themselves obedient to the Guru. [371, 426, 428]

(ii) A Gursikh should instruct his family dependents in the Guru's teaching (guramati) and the duties which these teachings require. [122]

iii) Any Gursikh who possesses the means should make provision for wife and family in the event of his death. [122]

(iv) As he approaches old age a Gursikh should transfer his responsibilities to his offspring and increasingly devote himself to attending the satsang. [122]

h) Sexual morality

(i) A married Sikh may have intercourse with his wife only during the second and third watches of the night. If he has sexual relations during the night he must bathe completely when he arises. [4, 5, 368]

(ii) A Gursikh must never stare at another's wife, nor may he have intercourse with her. Adultery is forbidden. [11, 370]

(iii) Intercourse with a Muslim prostitute is strictly forbidden. [396]

i) Speech and manner of address

A Gursikh should never speak offensively, nor should he use bitter words which may cause distress. He should always speak with kindness and affection. [119, 121]

j) Illness and need

- (i) In times of need or distress a Gursikh should arise during the last watch of the night, repeat Japji five times, and proceed to the dharamsala. There he should offer petition to the Guru and service to the sangat. The Guru will grant him the peace which he seeks. [25]
- (ii) Ardas may be said daily on behalf of a Sikh who is ill. If this is done he must serve a thanksgiving meal when he recovers, [489]

(III) A Gursikh must accept without complaint whatever response the Satguru may make to a petition. [536]

k) Charity

(1) From the proceeds of his labours every Gursikh should set aside a tenth part for the Guru. The Guru's portion should be taken from each heap of winnowed grain. This offering should be used to feed other Sikhs in the Guru's name, particularly those who are poor. <sup>131</sup> [48, 392]

II) Every Gursikh should regard a pauper's mouth as the Guru's alms-box. [23]

If a Gursikh encounters a needy Sikh he should provide him with shelter. If possible he should have his clothes washed, enable him to wash his hair, and serve him food.[101]

v) Ardas offerings are to be made to a person duly authorised by the sangat. This person must dispense the collection honestly and must not bury it for his own future use.

[364-66]

v) A portion of the Ardas offerings may be given to descendants of the Gurus, but they must not pass any of it on to Muslim authorities. [367]

i) ()aths and yows

1) A Gursikh should never require another Sikh to swear a false oath, nor should he himself swear an oath which harms an honourable man. [451-52]

(II) If a Gursikh vows to donate anything in return for the divine granting of a favour he

must honour his promise in full, withholding nothing. [56]

1. Social behaviour within the Panth 132

n) Relationships with other Sikhs

(1) A Gursikh should regard all fellow Sikhs as members of the Guru's family and thus as his own relatives. He should serve all other Sikhs with love and affection, and should never cause grief or distress to any of them. He should never look with evil intent on the family or possessions of another Sikh. [22, 39, 72, 73, 76, 79, 94, 319, 484]

 A Gursikh should never betray another Sikh's trust, nor disappoint his reasonable expectations. [59, 446, 531]

(III) A Gursikh should never obstruct another Sikh who is engaged in legitimate activity. [469]

(v) The first-fruits of each harvest should be eaten by another Sikh. [78]

(i) Courtesy in speech and behaviour

 A Gursikh should never criticise another Sikh nor quarrel with him. He must not abuse him, ridicule him, speak sarcastically to him or address obscenities to him. [57, 304, 309, 415, 417, 454]

ii) Descendants of the Gurus should be treated with particular respect. They should

receive a special welcome whenever they visit any village. [107, 413]

A Gursikh must never insult another Sikh by making rude gestures, pulling his turban, knocking off his turban, pulling the hair of his kes, or grasping his beard. [310-15]

Do not be discourteous to poor Sikhs. A Gursikh should not keep a poor Sikh waiting

while he finishes his meal. [18, 358, 412]

Do not address another Sikh by only half of his name. [408]
 Always attend a fellow Sikh's funeral if possible. [447]

vii) When drawing water from a well always serve it to any Sikh who requests a drink.
[514]

(vIII) An invitation to dine from another Sikh should not be thrice postponed. [495]

(lx) Never awaken a sleeping Sikh by kicking him. [530]

u) Assistance in times of need

(i) Gursikhs should help fellow Sikhs who are in need. Assistance should always be given to a Sikh who requests it in the Guru's name. [25-27,421, 486]

(li) Always aid a wounded, disabled or exhausted Sikh on the battlefield. [418]

lii) If a Gursikh is afflicted by financial need or other misfortune his fellow Sikhs should assist him. [136]

- A fellow Sikh must be warned if others perceive that his business affairs are in danger or that his plans are at risk. [357]
- Shelter and assistance should be given to a Sikh traveller who is in need. [135, 515] d) Hospitality
- A Gursikh must share his food with other Sikhs. Whenever he eats he should invite another Sikh to join him. Any Sikh who visits his house must be fed as generously as circumstances permit. [2, 63, 111, 316, 352, 404]

A Gursikh should not eat good food himself and serve inferior food to another Sikh.

A Gursikh should invite poor Sikhs to eat with him, not merely those who may be regarded as respectable. [423]

A Gursikh should not take possession of a bed if it means that other Sikhs must sleep on the floor.[354-355]

If a visiting Sikh wishes to wash his hair he should be given curds if any are available, [391]

If a Gursikh has a poor Sikh staying in his house he should arrange to have the poor Sikh's clothes washed. [393]

e) Business dealings

Gursikhs should have business dealings only with other Sikhs. [17]

Honest Sikhs should be permitted to conduct their business without interference.

If two Sikhs are involved in a business dispute they must effect a reconciliation before

A Sikh who has suffered a loss in trading should not be required to repay outstanding debts in full. [456]

A Gursikh should never take a bribe for services performed on behalf of another Sikh.

Never dismiss a Sikh servant and employ someone else in his place. [444-45]

A Sikh servant must always receive his due wages. [464]

f) Treatment of women

A Gursikh should never keep company with women belonging to another man's family, [341]

A Gursikh should never trust a woman, neither his own nor another's. Never entrust a secret to them. Regard them as the embodiment of deceit. [100]

Never touch the feet of any woman other than one's own mother. [343]

Never eat food left by a woman, [342] (iv) Never curse a respectable woman. [443]

Never use weapons against a woman, [192]

g) Disputes between Sikhs

No Sikh should ever attack another Sikh, nor should he provoke disagreement between Sikhs. [79, 319, 350]

Any Sikh who deliberately has another Sikh imprisoned, plundered or killed should be completely ostracised. He who kills another Sikh will go to hell (narak). [79, 462]

If two Sikhs are fighting they must immediately desist when so commanded by another Sikh. [532]

Disputes between Sikhs must be settled within the Panth. They should not be taken to a magistrate, unless the magistrate is a Sikh. [459-60, 470]

# 3. Caste 133

Personal relationships amongst Sikhs should be based on the belief that there is only one caste (gotra) and only one lineage for those who are followers of the one true Guru. [79]

Sikhs should, however, observe the distinctive customs of their various castes, and they should marry according to the traditional prescriptions of caste and lineage. This they should do in order that no stigma may attach to their name. 134 [11, 121]

Sikh marriages should be performed by Brahmans. [120]

Brahman Sikhs should receive double the deference and attention normally bestowed

on a Sikh. Any Sikh who imparts the teachings of the Guru should be similarly honoured, [24]

At meals, however, Brahmans should not be seated in front of others. All should be required to sit in the same line and Brahmans should not necessarily be served first.

1 The sangat

a) The satsang (1) A Gursikh should regularly join with other Sikhs to hear the sacred scriptures sung and expounded. Associating with others of piety and wisdom he acquires the same

Four blessings are conferred when Sikhs gather. The scriptures are read and sung; the deeper issues of the Sikh faith are explored; a better understanding of the Rahit is acquired; and each Sikh is encouraged to give alms according to his means. [96]

A Gursikh may participate only in a Sikh satsang. [480]

In a Sikh satsang one may only read passages from the sacred scriptures and sing kirtan. Other works are not permitted. [118, 345]

In any Sikh assembly all must sit in lines without reference to individual status. The only exceptions are descendants of the Gurus and those who are leading the singing. They should be given seats at the front of the gathering. [97, 289]

Women may meet in a separate satsang. [539]

Do not stand up in any Sikh assembly without good reason for so doing, [302] (ilvi)

(viii) Do not talk excessively in a satsang, [117-18]

Do not dispute the verdict or consensus of a satsang, [277]

Every Gursikh should learn humility by placing in a row the shoes of those attending a satsang. [98]

(i) The dharamsala

Every village or locality with Gursikh homes should maintain a dharamsala dedicated to the Guru. There the sangat should regularly gather in the presence of the Granth Sahib to read from the scriptures and sing kirtan. The dharamsala should also include facilities for Sikhs who may need a place to stay. [1, 3, 144, 494]

There must be free access to every dharamsala. No Sikh should be prevented from

entering, [416]

If there is a dharamsala in any village the Sikhs of that village must visit it regularly. When a Sikh enters he should make an offering of flowers, fruit, or money and prostrate himself. [1, 3, 494]

If a Sikh passes a dharamsala while the scriptures are being read or kirtan sung he

should enter and prostrate himself. [498]

There should be no talking while kirtan is being sung, nor during a scriptural reading

or a religious discourse. [388, 501, 529]

Rahiras 135 should be sung in dharamsalas each evening at dusk. At its conclusion the officiating Gursikh should address those assembled with the cry: 'Hail to the Guru's victory!' [3, 133]

Every Sikhni should daily contribute to the dharamsala kitchen a handful of flour from

her family's supply. [561]

11) The dharamsalia The person placed in charge of a dharamsala (the dharamsalia) should possess all virtues. He should be faithful in the conduct of divine worship and rituals. He should instruct the Sikh boys of his locality in the contents of the Granth Sahib, teaching

them its hymns and how to sing kirtan. [69, 71, 72] A dharamsalia should never be arrogant, deceitful, or wanton. He should be neither lustful nor prone to anger, neither a slanderer nor one puffed up with pride. [32]

The Sikhs of each locality should support their dharamsalia. He should be entitled to receive a portion of the offerings made in the dharamsala. He should accept nothing from descendants of the Gurus and he should steal from no one. [32, 33, 70]

A dharamsalia should be celibate. Women's quarters should not be provided. [69, 71] A dharamsalia should remain the humble servant of the sangat. He should never lay claim to superior status. [72]

5. The Guru Granth Sahib

a) Preparation and care of the sacred volume.

(i) Any Gursikh who is able to copy the Granth Sahib should prepare a volume and present it to his sangat. He should ask nothing for this service, but may accept anything that he is given. [64, 68]

The sacred volume must never be kept in a demeaning place. It must always be set in a

place of honour, [493]

(iii) The sacred volume should be placed on a lectern (mañji). A wrapping-cloth (rumāl) and whisk should be provided. These must never be removed. [16, 383]

(iv) Never turn one's back on the Granth Sahib while sitting in its presence. [434]

b) Reading the Granth Sahib

(i) The Granth Sahib is to be reverenced as the Guru. Every Gursikh should regularly read or hear it, and should meditate on its meaning. Thus shall he lay hold of the Sikh faith. [126, 138]

(ii) Before touching the sacred volume a Gursikh must wash his hands. Before reading it he must bathe or at least perform the five ablutions. [139, 437, 467]

(iii) While reading the Granth Sahib a Gursikh must never sit on a stool or string bed which is higher than the sacred volume itself, and should not rest his forehead on his hand. [131, 435, 450]

(iv) A Sikh who is reading or expounding a portion of the Granth Sahib is never to be interrupted, [483]

(v) The Granth Sahib should never be read by a person who is naked. [339]

(vi) One must speak respectfully when announcing that a reading has been completed. The reader should then touch the ground or floor with his forehead. [131, 508]

(vii) Do not use a piece of straw as a book-mark, [509]

(viii) If a copy of the Granth Sahib is kept in a house it must be regularly read, whether by the owner of the house or by someone appointed for the purpose. [492]

(ix) A woman should not read the Granth Sahib in any Sikh assembly. [538]

c) Complete readings

(i) When a Gursikh concludes a reading of the Granth Sahib he should read the scribe's ink formula, repeat Japjī, and end the entire reading with its terminal shalok. [141]

(ii) The complete Granth Sahib should be read following the death of a Sikh. This should be spread over as many days as his family can afford to provide hospitality to mourners. <sup>136</sup> [45]

### 6. Rituals

a) Post-natal

(i) The newborn son of a Gursikh should not be publicly displayed until he has been given an initiatory drink of water which has been sweetened with raw sugar and touched by the feet of five Sikhs. [60]

(ii) If the child is to be brought up a Kes-dhari his hair should be left uncut from birth. He should be given a name from the Granth Sahib and after the ceremony he should be bathed in curds. [61]

b) Marriage

(i) Marriage should be in accordance with caste and lineage prescriptions. [11]

(ii) A marriage should be performed at the house of the bride's father. The groom should be escorted there by a marriage party, [503]

(iii) A Gursikh should not demand a bride-price, [13-14]

(iv) A Gursikh's son may be married to the daughter of a monā father if she receives foot-wash initiation (charanān kī pāhul). [15]

(v) A Gursikh should not marry his daughter to a monā unless he agrees to accept initiation. This is performed with sweetened water which has been used to wash a Granth Sahib lectern (mānī). Five stanzas of Japjī and five of Anand should be recited. The couple should then drink the water. If the bridegroom has previously worn a sacred thread he may continue to do so during the wedding ceremony, but he should subsequently remove it, [16, 21]

H) Infilation (kes baptism) 137

(i) A Gursikh should receive baptism (pāhul) before his hair has grown to its full length. It is a father's duty to have his son initiated. [88, 375]

(II) The rite of kes baptism should be conducted as follows:

1. The rite should be conducted by five Sikhs. [182]
2. Water should be put in a bowl (kgtorā), sweetens

2. Water should be put in a bowl (katorā), sweetened with sugar confectionery (patāśā), and stirred with a knife (karad). While it is being stirred the Five Quatrains (pañi savayye) should be recited. [178-79]

3. A handful of the sanctified water (amrit) should be given five times to the neophyte to drink; five times it should be sprinkled on his eyes; and five times

on his head. [90, 180]

4. The initiated Sikh should then declare: 'Vāhigurūjī kā Khālsā! Vāhigurūjī kī fateh! [Hail to the Guru's Khalsa! Hail the victory of the Guru!].' [90, 181]

5. The officiating Gursikhs should instruct the initiate in observance of the Rahit, repeating the Sat -nām mantra, and the obligation to bear arms. [90,182]

6. The initiate should be given the name 'Singh'.[182]

7. Karah prasad should be distributed. [182]

(III) I'le who accepts baptism is required to keep his kes uncut. [183]

Any Sikh who administers baptism must be devout, wise, and scrupulous in his observance of the Rahit. He should not be one-eyed, bald, lame, or a leper, nor should he be a beardless person. [91, 122]

(v) Sword baptism (khande kī pāhul) should not be administered to a woman. [506]

#) Funerals

Appropriate rites should be performed following the death of a Gursikh. The head of the deceased should not be shaved, not even that of a Sahaj-dhari. Kirtan should be sung and charitable offerings distributed as custom dictates. There should be no public lamentation. [45]

Karah prasad should be distributed at the place of cremation after the corpse has been

washed. [45]

Katha and kirtan should continue for as many days as the family of the deceased can afford. A complete reading of the Granth Sahib should be spread over this period. [45]

The family of the deceased should invite as many mourners as they can afford to feed.

The mourners should be Sikhs. [45]

v) The ashes of the deceased should be deposited in the Ganga. [45]

A Gursikh should hold a *śrādh* ceremony on the anniversary of his father's death. [46]

ii Kuruh prasad

 Before karah prasad is prepared the cooking-square must be freshly smeared and clean clothes put on. Anand should be recited before commencing the preparation. [305, 430, 431]

II) The preparation of karah prasad should not be entrusted to anyone who cuts his hair or smokes a hookah, nor to any other transgressor of the Rahit. [432]

(III) Karah prasad should not be weighed after it has been prepared. [433] Ardas should be recited before karah prasad is distributed. [376]

(v) Karah prasad should be distributed to all without favouritism or discrimination. No Gursikh should reserve a larger portion for himself. Recipients should wait patiently until they receive their share. [288, 290, 294, 296, 377]

A Gursikh must never put aside for his own consumption a portion of karah prasad

before serving others. [440]

1 The preparation and consumption of food

i) The preparation of food
 (i) The Sikh who can afford a cook should employ only a Sikh. He should never employ anyone who smokes, wears a cap (topi), cuts his hair, steals, fornicates, gambles, or otherwise flouts the Rahit. [84]

Shoes must never be worn in a kitchen. [298]

Hands must be washed before dough is kneaded. Finger-nails should not be permitted to grow long. There should be no talking while a meal is being prepared. [105]

Burn wood when cooking, not dung. If insufficient wood is available burn equal parts of wood and dung. [86]

b) Eating and drinking

A Gursikh must wash his hands and rinse his mouth before eating. 139 Before he begins to eat he should say 'Sat-nam Vahiguru'. [8]

Before eating a meal a Gursikh should put aside a portion as an offering to the Guru.

A Gursikh should not begin to eat before a guest has begun to so do. [301]

Sikhs should sit in a single line when eating together. [10]

A Gursikh should remove his shoes before eating but not his turban. [299, 542]

A Gursikh should not talk while eating, nor should he stand up if anyone arrives

Do not eat carelessly, spitting out particles of food, when others are present. [399]

A Gursikh should eat no more than he requires in order to satisfy his hunger. [119]

Gursikhs are strictly forbidden to eat meat from animals killed according to Muslim

If possible a Gursikh should avoid drinking water from a leather bag. He should never drink water served by a Muslim. [120]

A cup received from someone with cut hair must be washed before it is used. [410]

A Gursikh should not give others food which he has already tasted. [52] (xiii) A Gursikh should never eat food left by a woman. [342]

8. Weapons and warfare

a) The obligation to bear and reverence arms

A Gursikh should carry weapons, both large and small. He should always have at least one weapon on his person. [188, 250, 332]

A Gursikh should reverence and worship his sword (sirī sāhib). Worship is due first to the Guru and secondly to the sword. [41, 146, 196, 322]

A Gursikh should never keep his sword on his person while defecating. Place it some distance away to ensure that it is not defiled or entrust it to the care of another Singh,

(iv) The right to rule is won and sustained by the sword. Arms should only be used, however, when there is good cause for so doing. [146, 279] b) The fighting Singh's equipment

(i) A Singh should regularly practise the use of his weapons to ensure that he maintains

A Singh should wear a kachh made from strong cloth, not a flimsy article which will fail to serve its purpose. [193]

(iii) A weapon should never be left uncleaned. [189, 197]

c) The need for vigilance

A Singh must remain ever on the alert, even when sitting and thinking or when defecating. He will always be ready to spring into action with his sword. [189, 198,

A Gursikh should never sleep unprepared. He should wear clothing and a

A sword must not be carried behind the back, nor slung over the shoulder with the hilt behind the shoulder. [328, 329]

(iv) A Singh should don his kachh as soon as he has bathed, regardless of whether it be

d) The battlefield

A Singh should never turn his back in battle. [190]

Always aid a wounded, disabled or exhausted Sikh on the battlefield. [418]

(iii) Always have slain Sikhs cremated on the battlefield if possible. [420]

# 9. Salutations

A Gursikh should never fail to respond when greeted by the salutation 'Vāhigurūjī kī fateh [Hail the victory of the Guru]'. [363]

Each morning a Gursikh should greet the sun with a namaste and his fellow Sikhs

with the salutation 'Vāhigurūjī kī fateh'. [150, 516]

When the new moon appears a Gursikh should salute it with a namaste and his fellow Sikhs with 'Vāhigurūjī' kī fateh'. [151]

# 10. Women's duties

n) l'ersonal behaviour

A Gursikhni should sustain a dutiful and placid disposition as a wife. She should regard her husband as her lord. She should serve him better food than other members of the family and should instruct him in the principles of the Sikh faith. [556-58, 567]

A Gursikhni should never abuse or berate a man, nor should she fight with a man.

A Gursikhni should spurn ridicule, mockery, vulgar jokes, and obscene language. She should not sing coarse songs at weddings nor at any other time. The songs which she sings should always be chaste and wholesome. [554, 565]

A Gursikhni should not bathe naked, nor should she stand naked in water and cast it towards the sun. [550]

li) Cooking and serving food

A Gursikhni must cleanse herself before preparing or serving food. This she should do with water and fresh earth. [551, 562]

To avoid pollution a Gursikhni should observe the following rules while preparing

1. She should not speak.

2. If she clears her nose or scratches her body she should wash her hands before 3. She should keep small children out of her cooking area. [562-63]

() Prayer and devotion

Before reciting the Guru's mantra 140 a Gursikhni should bathe or at least perform the

A Gursikhni should visit the dharamsala twice daily. [559]

A Gursikhni should keep her head covered in a satsang. [553] A Gursikhni should not read the Granth Sahib in a Sikh assembly. [538] A Gursikhni should learn portions of the sacred scripture by heart. [559]

A Gursikhni should spin cotton and with it weave cloth to be used as a wrapping (rumāl) for the Granth Sahib or as a covering for the dharamsala floor. [560]

A Gursikhni should not offer prayers at tombs and cenotaphs. [566] (vili)

Sword baptism is not to be administered to women. [506]

d) Social relationships

A Gursikhni should not keep the company of men other than those of her own family.

A Gursikhni should avoid social contacts with members of the five proscribed groups

A Gursikhni should not sit with malicious women exchanging gossip with them.

11.Travel and pilgrimage

Visiting a pilgrimage centre does not free a Sikh from his obligations under the Rahit. He may nevertheless visit gurdwaras and other places of pilgrimage. If he decides to go on pilgrimage he should visit only places associated with the Gurus. [111, 112,

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(II) A Gursikhni should visit the dharamsala twice daily. [559] (III)

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When on pilgrimage a Gursikh should not accept support from offerings made by others if this can be avoided. He should himself make offerings in order that others may be fed. [111]

- (iii) Before commencing any journey a Gursikh should offer Ardas to the Guru and ask for his protection. When he returns he should proceed to the dharamsala as soon as possible and make his thanksgiving. [108, 109]
- (iv) Any Gursikh traveller in need should receive assistance from local Sikhs regardless of his capacity to pay. [135, 537]
- (v) Never misdirect a Sikh who asks the way. [419, 513]

12. False teachers and enemies of the Guru

(i) A Gursikh should have no dealings with the five reprobate groups (pañj mel), viz.:
 1. Minas (the followers of Prithi Chand and Miharban);

2. the followers of Ram Rai:

3. the followers of Dhir Mal:

4. the masands;

5. any who acknowledge the authority of the masands [6, 186-88, 547].

(ii) A Gursikh should not associate with any of the following, nor should he accept their teachings:

1. Muslims;

- 2. yogis;
- 3. those who do not wear turbans:
- 4. those who shave their heads;
- 5, mendicants who mat their hair.
- 6. naked sadhus who coat themselves with ashes:

7. ascetics who wear caps (topi);

8. those who arrogantly assume spiritual authority. [31, 121]

- (iii) A Gursikh should have nothing to do with those who kill female babies. [12]
- A Gursikh should never patronise nor protect apostates, delinquents, impostors, cheats, thieves, adulterers, or gamblers. [83, 546]

### 13. Attitude towards Muslims

(i) Never associate with a Muslim nor trust his word. Never drink water from a Muslim's hands, never eat his food, and never sleep in his company. Do not be influenced by anything which a Muslim may say. [10, 31, 120, 442]

ii) Never touch a Muslim woman. [10]

(iii) A Gursikh should never eat meat from animals killed according to Muslim rites.
[372]

(iv) Do not distribute or eat karah prasad in the company of Muslims. [436]

(v) Never eat sweets or any other food offered as an oblation by a Muslim official. [541]

(vi) Religious discourse should not be held with Muslims. [121]

- (vii) A Gursikh should never entrust the management of his household affairs to a Muslim.
- (viii) A Gursikh should never entrust his sword to a Muslim and then walk ahead unarmed, [330]

(ix) Never invite a Muslim to recite the Kalima. [472]

(x) Never attend the mourning ceremony for a deceased Muslim. [407]

(xi) A Gursikh should never place on his kes anything inscribed in Arabic, [386]

- (xii) Gursikhs who are employed in a Muslim administration may be forgiven any unavoidable transgressions which may result from their employment. Three offences, however, can never be pardoned:
  - 1. The killing of a daughter
  - 2. Cutting one's hair or beard

3. Smoking [80, 444-445]

(xiii) Never touch the feet of a Mughal, nor eat food which he leaves. [384-85]

14. Sundry prohibitions

(i) A Gursikh should never commit theft or adultery, nor should he gamble. [102]
(ii) A Gursikh must never kill a female baby. He must have no dealings with anyone who

has committed this unpardonable offence. [12, 80, 359, 547]

(III) A Gursikh should not wear either a sacred thread or a frontal mark. [20]

(iv) A Gursikh must never offer prayers at any tomb, cenotaph, or sacred pool, nor at a shrine dedicated to Gugga Pir. [137, 387, 406]

v) A Gursikh should enter neither a Hindu temple nor a Muslim mosque. He should not

accept the authority of a mullah or a qazi. [137]

A Gursikh should never tread on any paper inscribed with Gurmukhi nor use such paper as a wrapping. He should show respect for the letters of the Gurmukhi alphabet. [147]

A Gursikh should never smoke tobacco (bikhiā) and should not sit beside anyone

who does smoke it. [7a, 80, 438]

(III) A Gursikh should not drink intoxicating liquor (sarāb). [7]

A Gursikh should not sing worldly songs, nor should he dance. At weddings he should not listen to lewd songs nor watch vulgar dancing. [127, 128, 345, 405]

A Gursikh should not rub gum-tragacanth or henna on his hands, nor apply black

collyrium to his eyes. [382, 490]

14 Miscellaneous injunctions

(1) Take care never to drop a knife (karad) when it is being passed from one person to another, [324]

A tree should not be cut down while it is still able to bear fruit. [491]

A lamp should be extinguished by waving a fan or piece of cloth. It should not be blown out by human breath nor snuffed with the hand. [505]

v) Do not extinguish a fire with water left over after drinking. [543]

Never speak of 'drying' a slate [after washing Gurmukhi characters from it]. [511]

(vi) Do not throw a stone at a dog without good reason. [523]

# the Rahit content of the Nand Lal section

The portion of the extant text attributed to Nand Lal covers less than eight folios in the SRL minuscript (less than fourteen in GNDU) and its statement of the Rahit is therefore brief and fourmentary. As in the Chaupā Singh section the various injunctions are recorded at random with hule concern for order or coherence. Its injunctions may be summarised as follows:

# THE RAHIT (NAND LĀL TEXT)

A Gursikh should spurn the teachings of Brahmans, Muslims, and Mahants. <sup>141</sup> He should believe and obey none save the Guru, loyally adhering to the Guru's Khalsa and worshipping only in the presence of the Guru's Word.

A Gursikh should scorn Brahmanical observances. He should never wear the sacred thread, recite Gayatri, worship idols, wear a dhoti, or eat with head uncovered; and he

should never solicit the services of a Brahman.

A Gursikh should never offer prayer at tombs or cremation grounds.

A Gursikh should read, hear, and repeat the divine Name, for thus is liberation attained.

The daily discipline:

a) During the last watch of the night a Sikh should arise and bathe. After cleaning his teeth he should either read both Japji and Jäp or recite two stanzas of each from memory. At daybreak he should join a satsang and after hearing the divine Word he should proceed on his daily business.

b) At midday, having washed his feet and hands, he should again recite both Japji

and Jap

c) An hour before the close of day he should recite the Sodar Rahiras liturgy.

6. A Sikh must be distinguished by a turban, a fine flowing beard, and an uncut kes. He must never use a razor and he must never remove his beard.

A Gursikh must never smoke tobacco nor use it as snuff. Using tobacco is as heinous

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a sin as eating beef.

8. Sikhs should regularly gather together, read the Anand, recite Ardas, and eat together.
9. Giving food to a fellow Sikh is as meritorious as giving it to the Guru himself. Fellow Sikhs should be served regardless of their status.

10. In times of need summon five Sikhs and feed them. The five Sikhs will then say

Ardas and the suppliant's wish will be granted.

11. For a śrādh ceremony prepare the tastiest of food and summon fellow members of the Khalsa. Read the Anand, recite Ardas, and feed the assembled Sikhs.

12. Do not steal.

13. Do not be mean.

Do not slander.

Never trust a woman.

The narrative portions of the Chaupa Singh text

Having concluded his catalogue of injunctions the Chaupā Singh compiler rounds off his first rahit-nama section and plunges into a narrative account of the mission of Guru Gobind Singh. This, as we have already suggested, is not as incongruous as first appearances might suggest. Sikh tradition is emphatic in its insistence that the Rahit derives directly from the intention of Guru Gobind Singh and that it was promulgated by the Guru in response to a specific need. The compiler turns now to this need and to the critically important response which it elicited from the Guru. 142

His narrative begins with the birth of the tenth Guru and after briefly describing his childhood dwells at some length on the circumstances of his father's death. The compiler accepts, in general terms, the dominant tradition concerning the mission of Guru Gobind Singh, and the stress which he lays upon the execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur is a key feature of that tradition. When the ninth Guru was executed all but two of his disciples cravenly concealed their identity as Sikhs. The son and successor, learning of this cowardice, decided that he would one day confer on his followers a visible identity which would render concealment impossible.

The remainder of the first narrative section leads on to the fulfilment of this intention. The Guru had decided that uncut hair would be the key feature of the externally-visible identity which his followers must be required to assume. He therefore introduced the rite of kes baptism in S. 1754 (1697 A.C.). All who accepted initiation as members of the newly-constituted Panth thereby became Kes-dhari Sikhs, each pledged to retain his kes inviolate and to observe all other requirements of the Guru's Rahit.

Many of the dates and details given in the Chaupā Singh account differ from those normally accepted, but the interpretation itself is orthodox. The compiler clearly agrees with those who focus their interpretation on the circumstances of the ninth Guru's death and the consequent need for a visible identity. The role of the masands (the alternative focus) is mentioned, <sup>143</sup> but it remains peripheral to the accepted interpretation. If one were to judge from the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā alone it would be difficult to deduce that the new order might have been instituted in order to detach Sikhs from the allegiance to the masands. The masands are certainly portrayed as grossly arrogant and corrupt, and the Rahit itself commands Sikhs to avoid them. <sup>144</sup> There is, however, no suggestion that their misused authority had anything to do with the Guru's decision to refashion the Panth.

One feature of the Khalsa theme which was to encounter disapproval from some later copyists of the text is the account of Guru Gobind Singh's alleged decision to invoke the blessing of Mata Devi by commissioning a performance of the traditional fire ritual (hom). As we have already noted, however, this story was obviously a part of the original narrative. 145 It relates how Guru Gobind Singh decided to seek the blessing of the goddess on his new Panth and for this purpose employed a group of Brahmans led by a certain Kalak Das. The tensions generated by the inclusion of the story in this and other eighteenth-century Sikh works are clearly present within the actual narrative. Although the Guru is said to have initiated the proposal he refuses to follow Kalak Das's instructions and the ritual ends in failure.

The mission of Guru Gobind Singh and the reconstituting of the Panth provide the dominant

theme of the first narrative section. A strong secondary theme is the loyalty of the Chhibbar Brahmans and their importance within the Guru's retinue. 146 This receives particular proportion at two points. When Guru Tegh Bahadur goes to his death the two Sikhs who remain bravely loyal are both Chhibbars; 147 and when the rite of kes baptism is inaugurated the first Sikh to receive it is Chaupa Singh Chhibbar himself. 148

The Chhibbar sub-theme continues into the second narrative portion (sections 569-641), but the dominant theme now changes. The tenor of the resumed narrative is very different from that of the earlier section. Whereas the earlier section offered a description of times past the enter continuation purports to be the tenth Guru's foretelling of the future. This it provides in the form of brief anecdotes as well as specific prophecies, all of them expressions of the new than so insistently emphasised by the Chhibbar compiler. The theme of this second narrative another is raulā (tumult) and the Guru is represented as predicting its onset. The raulā which is to assail the Panth will grow steadily worse, fuelled by the hostility of the Muslim rulers and by the perverse ambition of disloyal Sikhs. A loyal remnant of the Khalsa will stand firm, whereas, and eventually a golden age of peace will be inaugurated by the appearance of Nilmanlank, the Kalki Avatar. The narrative thus presents an apocalypse, a sequence of brief than which together proclaim the imminence of dire calamity and the ultimate triumph of the new Panth.

Although these prophecies are attributed to Guru Gobind Singh their content and message concern the contemporary circumstances of the Panth at the time when the extant Chaupā Nhyh text was originally recorded. They must therefore be read as a commentary on the period half a century after the Guru's death. In presenting this message the compiler is plainly drawing from the same tradition that Kesar Singh Chhibbar used for his Bansāvalī-nāmā. The purpoetive for both, as for their shared tradition, is a view bitterly hostile to the Khalsa includership of the period circa 1760, a leadership which this Chhibbar tradition represents as violous and self-seeking. There remains, however, a tradition of loyalty within the Panth and more individual is given particular notice as a shining example of devotion to the Guru. He is, predictably, a Chhibbar. 149

'The compiler thus presents his readers with a particular interpretation of the key events in the l'auth's past, together with a gloomy view of its immediate future. Four features of his minipsis deserve to be noted.

1. The emphasis laid on the devoted service of the Chhibbar Brahmans.

An we have already noted, the narrative portions of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā can, in a menne, be regarded as a Chhibbar charter. The repeated emphasis laid on the Chhibbar contribution to the Panth constitutes a particularly prominent feature of the compiler's choice und presentation of his narrative content.

1. The Bansāvalī-nāmā analogue.

This issue has also been discussed above, 150 but it deserves further examination in this context. It warrants further attention because some key terms used in the Chaupā Singh text me clarified by definitions supplied in the Bansāvalī-nāmā.

One such term is raulā, the word which for the Chaupā Singh compiler epitomises the fate of the Panth during the early and middle years of the eighteenth century. Although the Chaupā Singh text communicates a lively sense of growing turbulence it offers no specific information concerning the actual raulā, nor of the individuals who create it. Kesar Singh, by contrast, is millinently specific. His interpretations may be fanciful, but at least he makes his meaning clear. The interpretation of contemporary events which he thus expounds was obviously a fundamental assumption of the Chhibbar tradition, and the Chaupā Singh compiler merely sukes for granted an analysis which was commonplace in his own circles.

According to Kesar Singh the raulā which assails the Panth is the latest in the sequence of phases which together constitute the Panth's history. Each is characterised by a key word. The limit phase, inaugurated by Guru Nanak and continuing into the lifetime of the tenth Guru, was the period of sikhī. In S. 1754 (1697 A.C.) Guru Gobind Singh first performed the rite of kes happilsm and with it introduced singhī. These two co-existed satisfactorily through the twelve remaining years of his lifetime and thereafter for another thirty-six years during the period of

Banda and Jit Singh. In S.1803 (1746 A.C.), however, Nawab Kapur Singh died and with his death first sikhī and then singhī were abandoned. The sardars who succeeded Kapur Singh were traitors to the Panth, self-seeking knaves who consulted only their own interests. In so doing they carried the Panth into the period of raulā. 151

The Chaupā Singh text speaks of the same raulā and when it denounces the raule de sikh its curses are aimed at the Khalsa leadership of its own period. This term, which appears in the English translation as 'vicious unruly Sikhs', presents no problems once raulā is understood. Elsewhere the text refers to these same reprobates as māikī sikh, members of the sinister māikī panth or 'Way of Avarice'. The māikī sikh constitute one of the four categories into which the Chhibbar tradition divides the Khalsa Panth. The four categories are respectively the dīdārī sikh (Attendant Sikhs), the mukate sikh (Enlightened Sikhs), the māikī sikh (Rapacious Sikhs) and the murīd sikh (Loyal Sikhs).

This fourfold division is clearly a feature of the Chhibbar view of contemporary developments within the Panth. In themselves the terms communicate little sense of the meaning which each is intended to express and both Chhibbar works offer definitions, set in the context of Guru Gobind Singh's preparations for the Devi fire ritual. In the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā they appear as sections 224-227. The Bansāvalī-nāmā offers a fuller and clearer series of definitions. According to Kesar Singh the Guru described the four categories as follows:

The Guru explained: 'The dīdārī [Sikhs] are those who remain with me here permanently.

They remain with me both here and in the hereafter, devoutly repeating the Word of salvation.140

The mukate Sikhs are those who shall remain after I have gone.

The Turks will issue ordinances against the Panth and pursue [its members in their attempt to destroy it].

They who [in these times of persecution] uphold their Sikh allegiance shall be known as mukate, Striving always to sustain their faith as Sikhs. 141

By the suffering of these two groups [the Panth] shall win political power, but in the exercise of this power some will turn to sin and damnation.

These leaders, [ensnared by wordly temptations], shall be the  $m\bar{a}ik\bar{t}$  Sikhs, and as such shall be accounted the third division of the Panth. 142 ...

Thus we have noted the  $d\bar{d}d\bar{a}r\bar{i}$ , the mukate, and thirdly the  $m\bar{c}ik\bar{t}$  Sikhs. Behold fourthly the murid, they who remain pure during the [corrupting] rule of the  $m\bar{c}ik\bar{t}$  144

For them everything is seen as the Guru's gift,

As [true] Sikhs amongst [the false] they continue to accept the sacred scripture as the Guru's voice. Authority, destiny, country, and wordly wealth -

All these they accept as gifts of the Guru and share what they possess with their fellow Sikhs, 145

Recognise the *murīd* as the Satguru's [true] disciples, they who exalt the Sikh faith above their personal pride when authority is conferred on them.

A  $m\bar{a}ik\bar{a}$  when he secures authority is called a  $r\bar{a}jd$ , whereas the [humble and] incorrupt is to be known as a  $mur\bar{u}d.146$ 

The  $d\bar{d}d\bar{r}\bar{r}$ , mukate, and mur $\bar{r}d$  Sikhs are mine, whereas the  $m\bar{a}ik\bar{a}$  must wait at the [dread] door of Dharam-rai ... 153

The interpretation of the Panth expressed in Kesar Singh's awkward verse is central to the Chaupā Singh narrative. In the Panth of the mid-eighteenth century loyalty to the Guru's teachings is scorned, corruption and arrogant self-seeking are exalted. Although the fourfold division is clumsy and imprecise it clearly represents a crucial element within the Chhibbar tradition, an instrument whereby the presence in the Panth of discord and selfish ambition can be explained without abandoning the fundamental doctrine of the Guru's omnipotence. The

times are confused because the Guru has willed that this should be so. They will grow progressively worse until total chaos eventually ushers in a new era. For its ultimate answer lin Chhibbar tradition looks to the Dasam Granth and beyond it to the Puranic solution. Peace mild order will eventually return with the arrival of the Kalki Avatar. 154

A. The influence of the Dasam Granth

In their apocalyptic treatment of the Panth's future the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā and the Hunsāvalī-nāmā both indicate a significant debt to Puranic sources. Although Puranic elements movelve considerable prominence this should not suggest that the Chhibbar tradition acquired them directly from the Puranas. The immediate source and influence is clearly the Dasam Uranth. The presence within the Dasam Granth of a section concerning the Kalki Avatar is morely one indication of the extent to which its contents have been influenced and informed by the Puranas. The same section also indicates the obvious line of descent from Puranic source to Chhibbar tradition. Other references within the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā further testify to the Influence exercised on its narrative content by the Dasam Granth.

# A. Doctrinal concerns

The dominant doctrinal concern of the Chaupā Singh text as a whole is the nature of the Rahit and the obligation incumbent on all Sikhs to observe it faithfully. There is, however, a deeper there underlying the existence of the Rahit, one which runs through the narrative sections of the text as well as the actual rahit-nama. Why must one observe the Rahit? One must observe the Rahit because the Guru has decreed it. Submission to the Guru is the only means of liberation for the Sikh and if the Guru ordains the Rahit his loyal disciple has no choice but to other.

An exalted doctrine of the Guru is another of the text's continuities and a fundamental aspect ut its message. The exalted nature of the doctrine is mirrored in the terminology which the text uses when speaking of the Guru and in the range of meaning covered by its preferred titles.

Two points deserve to be noted in this respect.

The first is that although we encounter degrees of honorific usage the various terms which worm to mark different points on the honorific scale are in fact all synonymous. The text may refer simply to the Gurū or it may elect to use the more exalted titles of Satigurū, Vāhigurū, or Furān Purakh. In some instances combinations may be used, producing such impressive toms as Hazūr Srī Vāhigurū Pūran Purakh jī. 155 All bear the same range of meaning.

The range of meaning is thus one which must be determined by context rather than by terminology. This brings us to the second point which deserves notice. The range covered by such of the terms noted above is one which extends from the personal Guru (normally Guru (lobind Singh) through the concept of an eternal Guru to identification with Akal Purakh himself. Up to a certain point this range of common identity is explicitly affirmed. There is but once eternal Guru and the succession which runs from Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh comprises ten incarnations (jāme) of this single Guru, not ten separate Gurus. This much is allowly stated. 156 The remainder is logically implicit. If one concedes the existence of the aternal Guru it necessarily follows that the Gurus must be in some sense an extension of Akal Purakh. Distinguishing the two can be as difficult as separating Holy Spirit from Godhead in the Christian tradition.

This strong inclination to fuse personal incarnation, eternal Guru, and supreme Creator is interestingly reflected in the shifts of meaning which have affected the term  $v\bar{a}hgur\bar{u}$  (or  $v\bar{n}higur\bar{u}$ ). In this particular case four phases can be recognised and although two of these are dominant in the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā all four can be identified in its varying usage.

In its Adi Granth sense vah guru is simply an ascription of praise to the Guru.

vāhi gurū vāhi gurū vāhi gurū vāhi jīu

Praise to the Guru! Praise to the Guru! Praise to the Guru!

Praise to Thee! 157

Although rare in the Adi Granth it was later used by janam-sakhi compilers in a variety of ways, all of them retaining the same literal meaning of 'Praise to the Guru'. In some instances they followed the Adi Granth example of using it simply as an ascription of praise, frequently at the conclusion of individual sakhis. Elsewhere it was employed as a magical formula to

ward off danger or effect a miracle. A third janam-sakhi usage was as an appropriate manual for the simple unsophisticated application of the  $n\bar{a}m$  simaran technique. <sup>158</sup>

This constituted the initial phase, one in which the two components (val) and uava) remained distinct and the term itself retained its literal meaning. The initial phase also produced the celebrated Khalsa salutation: val uval uva

In this second phase the two components have coalesced to produce a one-word title and that title is applied to the personal Guru. The third phase follows as a natural result of the developing doctrine of the Guru. As the doctrine of the eternal Guru ascends to importance the synonymous title of Vahiguru follows it. Vahiguru thus designates the eternal Guru as well as the personal manifestation.

The fourth phase also follows as a natural development. Just as the transition from eternal Guru to supreme Creator is an easy one, so too is the corresponding shift in the meaning of Vahiguru. The fact that it was already under way during the mid-eighteenth century is indicated by an isolated example in the SRL manuscript. Dalla Brar, addressing Guru Gobind Singh, refers to Vāhigurū in a sense which clearly implies distinction from the Guru himself and thus can mean only Akal Purakh. 162 In the Chaupā Singh context this is an inconsistent usage, but it is scarcely surprising. It points the way forward to the modern sense, one which emphatically identifies Vāhigurū with Akāl Purakh, Pārbraham and Kartār.

The anecdotal sequence

The twelve anecdotes which follow the first narrative section in the GNDUISRL text have a common theme and a single message. The theme is that of the nindak or 'detractor', <sup>163</sup> and the message which the anecdotes so insistently communicate is that opposition to the Gurus is bound to be futile. In two instances the 'detractor' is a rival who seeks to appropriate the Guru's authority. Others are malicious vilifiers with a variety of imagined grievances. All fail in their nefarious designs. <sup>164</sup>

An interesting feature of these anecdotes is the prominence of Khatris. Eight of the twelve involve treacherous Khatris, six of them explicitly. Khatri involvement is in part explained by the fact that rival relatives such as Miharban would necessarily be Khatris. There is, however, no mistaking the copyist's intention to stress that hostility came predominantly from Khatris, from the unrelated as well as from disaffected family members. Only in the story involving Guru Angad do they seem to emerge with uncertain credit. Within the Chhibbar family, it seems, the *nindak* was perceived as pre-eminently a Khatri. The feature is one which the anecdotal sequence shares with the narrative sections of the original text. <sup>165</sup> Antipathy towards Khatris was evidently current amongst at least some of the Chhibbars of the mid-eighteenth century.

The nature of the *nindak* strategy is indicated by the copyist's fondness for the word  $m\bar{a}rk\bar{a}$  (fuss, trouble). Four of the first five stories are introduced by a reference to the  $m\bar{a}rk\bar{a}$  caused by the Gurus' malevolent opponents, and subsequent anecdotes tell a similar tale. None can succeed. Even in defeat, or in death itself, the Guru triumphs.

### Conclusion

The Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā is an important document. It is important because together with its associated Nand Lāl fragment it represents the earliest extant example of a formal table-nama. It is also important because it enunciates the Rahit in such abundant detail.

As we have seen, the Chaupā Singh text can be traced to a family of Chhibbar Brahmans, illustinguished by their record of service to the Gurus, but sadly disillusioned by highteenth-century developments within the Panth. The extant text was evidently compiled very near the middle of the century, and the original version was probably recorded in the milh-montane area of Jammu or Jhelum. The result combines two sections of formal rahit-nama with two of narrative. One narrative portion looks back to the founding of the Khalsa and thus in the need for a Rahit. The other contemplates the confused circumstances of the mild-eighteenth century, circumstances produced by self-seeking disloyalty to the Guru and his limbit.

An origin such as this might suggest that the traditional neglect of the Chaupā Singh Muhlt-nāmā has been thoroughly justified. Can one reasonably expect that disillusioned Huminans will provide an impartial statement of the orthodox Rahit? The fear is natural, yet there is little to indicate that the statement is in fact significantly biased. On the contrary, any tak of bias is more than counterbalanced by the substantial advantage of knowing the precise origins of this particular statement. There is, after all, no such thing as an agreed eighteenth-century orthodoxy. The most we can anticipate is a dominant trend, and insofar as this can be identified there is nothing to suggest significant deviation on the part of the Chaupā Ningh Rahit-nāmā. The only exception to this rule is its attitude towards Brahmans. This funture, easily perceived, exercises no evident influence on the remainder of its presentation.

l'arly expositions of the Rahit which declare their date, place of origin, and potential bias, are immensely valuable. In the case of the *Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā* all three issues can be determined with reasonable certainty, enabling us to place the text at the beginning of a major development in Sikh tradition. It is a work which deserves recognition and thorough analysis.

The editing and translating of the Chaupa Singh/Nand Lal text

Like all Gurmukhi works of its period the text recorded in the SRL and GNDU manuscripts was written without breaks between individual words. Apart from line-endings (which take no account of word-endings) the only regular breaks in the text are those which mark the conclusion of sentences, major phrases, or items in lists. In the process of editing and transcribing the text these unbroken sequences have been divided into their separate words. The basic text for the version which follows is that recorded in the GNDU manuscript. Important variants from the SRL, PSP and KhC manuscripts are given in footnotes.

Scriptural quotations are identified in both the Gurmukhi text and the English translation. Where the GNDU/SRL version differs significantly from the Adi Granth or the Dasam Granth reading the latter is given in the footnote attached to the Gurmukhi text. Minor variants are ignored. It should, however, be noted that minor variants are very common. Although the UNDU and SRL manuscripts have proved generally faithful to their scriptural sources they weldom produce exact transcripts of the original.

The English translation follows the Gurmukhi text as closely as possible. Words which have been inserted to provide clarity or continuity have been set in brackets.

### NOTES

## ABBREVIATIONS

1140 (Eng) W. H. McLeod (trans.), The B40 Janam-sākhī. Amritsar. 1980.

11-n Kesar Singh Chhibbar, Bansāvalī-nāmā.

UhS Text of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā. Numbers following the abbreviation

ChS designate sections of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā text.

ESC W. H. McLeod, The Evolution of the Sikh Community. Delhi, 1975; Oxford,

1976.

GNDU Guru Nanak Dev University Library manuscript no. 1018.

**GNSR** W. H. McLeod, Gurū Nānak and the Sikh Religion. Oxford, 1968. Sikh History Research Department of Khalsa College, Amritsar, manuscrip KhCno. SHR 227. Kahn Singh Nabha, Guruśabad Ratanakar Mahan Koś (commonly known a ΜK Mahān Kos), 2nd edition revised with Addendum, Patiala, 1960. PSPPiara Singh Padam (ed.), Rahit-name. Patiala, 1974. SRL Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar, manuscript no. 6124. W. H. McLeod, Textual Sources for the Study of Sikhism. Manchester, 1984, TSSS

1. TSSS, pp. 34-37.

2. TSSS, pp. 9-10 and chap. 4.

3. W.H. McLeod, 'The problem of the Panjabi rahit-nāmās', in S.N.Mukherjee, India: History and Thought. Essays in Honour of A.L.Basham (Calcutta, 1982), pp. 103-26.

S.S. Hans, 'Prem Sumarg - a modern forgery'. Proceedings of the Punjab History Conference 1982 (Patiala, 1982), pp.180-88.

5. An early translation of the Sau Sākhīān was published by Attar Singh of Bhadaur as Sakhee Book, or the Description of Gooroo Gobind Singh's Religion and Doctrines (Benares, 1873).

6. W. H. McLeod, 'The Kukas: a millenarian sect of the Punjab' in G. A. Wood & P. S. O'Connor (ed), W. P. Morrell: a Tribute (Dunedin, 1973), pp.85-103, 272-76.

TSSS, pp 75-79.

8. TSSS, pp. 14-17. W. H. McLeod, 'The problem of the Panjabi rahit-nāmās', p. 119. Titles are listed in N. Gerald Barrier, The Sikhs and their Literature (Delhi, 1970).

10. One such work was Sant Sampuran Singh's Rahit-prakās, first published in 1923. See also Piara Singh Padam, Rahit-name (Patiala, 1974).

11. TSSS, p. 79. TSSS, pp. 79-86, supplies a substantial part of the text of Sikh Rahit Maryādā in English translation.

12. MK, p. 359.

13. Idem, Guramat Sudhākar (Patiala, 4th ed. 1970), pp. 277-281; and Gurumat Mārtand (Amritsar, 1962), vol. 1, suchi pattar 14.

14. The only significant exception is Piara Singh Padam's Rahit-nāme (Patiala, 1974), a published collection of rahit-nama texts which includes a complete version of one of the few Chaupā Singh manuscripts. Piara Singh Padam's published version is hereafter cited

15. An edition of the text, edited with introduction by Rattan Singh Jaggi, has been published as volume II of Parakh: Research Bulletin of Panjabi Language and Literature (Panjab University, Chandigarh, 1972), pp. xvi, 247.

16. For a note on the Bhatt vāhīs, together with relevant extracts, see Surjit Singh Gandhi, History of the Sikh Gurus (Delhi, 1978), pp. 583-91.

17. A note added by Kahn Singh in the second edition of MK identifies his actual residence as Duburji village in Sialkot District. MK Appx., p. 47.

18. See below p.16.

19. B-n 10:8. SRL, f. 35a. A khidavā is a nursery superintendent or adult playmate who may also assume tutoring responsibilities.

20. ChS 158. The Bansāvalī-nāmā names another Chhibbar Brahman, Harijas Rai, as Gurmukhi teacher to Gobind Singh. B-n 10: 6-7.

21. ChS 181. B-n 10: 322-23.

22. B-n 10: 523-26. 23. Piara Singh Padam, Srī Gurū Gobind Singh jī de darbārī ratan (Patiala, 1976), pp.75-77.

24. B-n 10:523-26. 25. PSP, pp. 69-70.

26. GNDU, f. 173b. SRL, f. 94b. PSP, p. 121.

27. Loc. cit., p. 286. Cited by Randhir Singh, Prem Sumarag Granth (Jalandhar, 1965), Introduction, pp. 78-79. Randhir Singh also quotes the reference to Chaupa Singh which appears in Tara Singh Narotam's Srī Gur Tīrath Sangrah published in 1884. Ibid., pp. 79-80.

Ibld., pp. 73-74.

J. S. Grewal and S. S. Bal, Guru Gobind Singh (Chandigarh, 1967), p.229.

PSP, Introduction, p. 40A.

Hoe above p.13. Also PSP p.40A; and Piara Singh Padam, op.cit., p.76.

Randhir Singh, op. cit., p. 80. Grewal and Bal, op. cit., p. 229. Avtar Singh, Ethics of the Sikhs (Patiala, 1970), pp. 17-18.

11, ChS 157, PSP, p. 87. 14. ('hS 286. PSP, p. 93.

14. ChS 569, PSP, p. 109.

16. ChS 647. GNDU f. 177a. SRL, f. 96b. PSP, p. 121.

(INDU, ff. 195a-208a. SRL, ff. 96b-104a. PSP, pp. 48-52. Piara Singh Padam does not actually state that the Nand Lal text published in his Rahit-name comprises a part of the same manuscript as his Chaupa Singh text. His Nand Lal text does, however, correspond closely to those in the other manuscripts.

III. ChS 24. See also 120, 167, 622.

10 ChS 10.

The kes (uncut hair), kanghā (comb), kirpān (dagger or sword), karā (steel bangle) and kachh (breeches). ESC, p. 51.

ChS 206 ff. ChS 615 ff.

11. The principal examples are the text's references to Mati Das, Sati Das, Daragah Mal, Sahib Chand, Dharam Chand, and Chaupa Singh himself.

**制,** *PSP***, p. 40A.** 11. *PSP*, p. 40.

4n. This family tree is adapted from a version supplied by Piara Singh Padam in his Srī Gurū Gobind Singh ji de darbārī ratan, p. 266. Padam's sources appear to have been Kesar Singh's Bansavalī-namā and the Bhatt Vāhī Multānī Sindhī as these are cited for Individual biographies elsewhere in the book. Narayan Das was a Kashmiri Brahman of the Datt got. Padam provides a separate family tree for his lineage, op. cit., p. 266. For a chart showing the descendants of Kesar Singh Chhibbar see Balwant Singh Dhillon, 'Some unknown hukumnamas of Guru Gobind Singh', Proceedings of the Punjab Ilistory Conference, thirteenth session 1979 (Patiala, 1980), p. 107.

47, ChS 158.

III. ChS 178-181. 10, ChS 586.

10), ChS 611

11. ChS 643.

1). The Bansāvalī-nāmā gives the older brother's name as Durgha Mal and Durga Mal. B-n 9:24, 32-34: 10:303. In the GNDU/SRL text the younger brother appears as Hira Nand. ChS 171. The Bhatt vāhīs agree with the PSP text in naming him Hira Mal. PSP, p. 89. S. S. Gandhi, op. cit., pp. 588, 590

1.1. See in particular ChS 162, 170-74, 586.

14. ChS 641.

55. B-n 1:10; 14:626.

50. One manuscript gives the year as S.1836 (1779 A.C.). This, according to Rattan Singh

Jaggi, is a mistake. Op. cit., p. kh.

57. Ibid., pp. chh - j. The  $v\bar{a}h\bar{\iota}$  (which supplied him with many of his numerous dates) was, he claims, destroyed by fire in Jammu City. B-n 14:189-90. The Bala janam-sakhi tradition obviously commanded a considerable importance within the Chhibbar family. This is indicated by yet another Chhibbar product, a versified Bālā janam-sakhi said to have been prepared by Bhai Sant Das Chhibbar in S. 1834 (1777 A.C.). Illustrated manuscript copies of this work are held by Guru Nanak Dev University (manuscript no. 453) and the National Museum, New Delhi. For a description of the latter see Fauja Singh, Papers on Guru Nanak (Patiala, 1970), pp. 155-156. Several folios in praise of Mata Devi are appended to the actual janam-sakhi by both mss.

58. Ibid., pp. *g-chh*.

59. Idem, 'History in Panjabi', in The Panjab Past and Present V:1 (April, 1971), p. 188.

60. See below pp.45-47 and English translation note 473.

61. For a useful discussion of Kesar Singh's view see Surjit Singh Hans, 'Historical analysti of Sikh literature, A.D. 1500-1850' (unpub. Guru Nanak Dev University PhD. thesis 1980), pp. 455-70.

62. See above p 15.

63. The two verse rahit-names attributed to Nand Lal and the verse rahit-names attributed to Prahlad Singh, Daya Singh and Desa Singh.

The manuscript was purchased by the Sikh Reference Library in 1960 from an antiquarian bookseller, Prithipal Singh Jaura, and was entered in the accessions registor on 24 October 1960. (Information supplied by Principal Parkash Singh of Amritsar.)

66. The precise year may perhaps be open to doubt as the last two digits are not clear. The whole of line 8, comprising the actual date sammat 1821 ikie is roughly written in different pen and may well have been added later. It is, moreover, evident that the copyist originally wrote 1812, subsequently amended to read 1821. The hand appears, however, to be that of the original copyist.

67. Notably the substitution of 'b' for 'v'.

68. A fascicle number appears in the bottom right-hand corner of every tenth folio.

69. Shamsher Singh Ashok believes that these corrections have been made by a different hand. Sādā hath-likhit pañjābī sāhit (Amritsar, 1968), p. 376. A few corrections have indeed been made by a modern hand. The majority are, however, early corrections and although the ink is much weaker than that of the original text the style is still that of the copyist.

70. The original sequence may have been briefer. The extant versions all include \$ supplementary colophon (sections 644-47) which was probably added to an earlier version.

71. See above p.15.

- The misplaced sections (ChS 113-116) run from line 8 of folio 21b to line 1 of folio 23h See above pp.23-24. A sentence mistakenly repeated from an earlier context appears on folio 75a, line 7.
- 73. Folios 90 and 103,

74. *GNDU*, f. 208a,

75. The manuscript is catalogued as SHR 227A (the Chaupā Singh portion) and SHR 227ll (the Nand Lal addendum).

76. The introductory and terminal extracts given in the published catalogue of the Sikh History Research Department's manuscripts are not a reliable guide in this respect. They contain several transcription errors. Kirpal Singh (ed.), A Catalogue of Punjabi and Urdi Manuscripts in the Sikh History Research Department (Amritsar, 1963), pp. 105-107.

An example is the corrupt reading pravāsīdī which occurs in section 146. SRL, f. 32b. KhC, f. 21a.

78. Published by the compiler, Patiala, 1974. The two texts are published separately in the collection. PSP, pp.48-52 (Nand Lal Rahit-nama), 68-121 (Chaupa Singh Rahit-nama),

79. PSP, Introduction, p. 40D. 80. *PSP*, pp. 42-43, 44-47.

81. PSP, pp. 48-52.

82. PSP, p. 40D.

83. PSP, pp. 68-70. See below Appendix, pp.251-52.

84. *PSP*, p. 121.

85. PSP, p. 121. ChS 644-47.

86. See above p.24. See above p.18.

88. Whereas the first Rahit section enunciates positive injunctions the second details specific offences requiring punishment.

See above pp.12-13.

See below English translation, note 300.

91. Kahn Singh, Gurumat Martand, p. 541. MK, Appendix, p.55.

92. See ChS 24.

VA. ChS 158, 179, 585, 589, 611. The formula is peculiar to the narrative sections. It does not appear in either of the rahit-nama sections.

94. B-n 10:27. ChS 172.

05. Distinctive terms which appear in both works include kārakhānā as a metaphor referring to the Panth (ChS 168-169; B-n 10:625) and sare as a feature of the masands' punishment (ChS 184; B-n 10:349).

V6. ChS 224-27. B-n 10: 138-47.

ChS 623-35. B-n 10: 636-61.

UK, ChS 587-88, 596-97.

Rattan Singh Jaggi, Parakh II, pp. chh-j. 00. Jaggi cites several examples. Ibid., p.chh.

Chš 611-14. PSP, pp. 118-19.

102. See above p.16.

(0). See in particular ChS 583-86; PSP, pp. 112-13.

101. ChS 642-43. See also PSP, p. 121.

105. SRL, f. 96b, line 8.

106. GNDU, f. 206a. SRL, f. 103a. 101. hosī, karasī, jāsī, āvasī, lavāsī.

IIII. GNDU, ff. 195b, 196a, 199a, 201a, 203b-204a, SRL, ff.97a-b, 99a, 100a, 101b-102a.

109. GNDU, ff. 198a. SRL, f. 98a-b

110. ESC, p. 81.

III. PSP, pp. 68-70. See Appendix.

112. The term derives from Chhibbar usage. See ChS 225.

113. PSP, p. 68. The PSP text also substitutes brāhaman for gaddīān as the last of the eight varieties of false teachers whom Sikhs are to spurn. PSP, p. 74. ChS 31. This change

was presumably made by the copyist who added the introduction.

111. This emerges in the sentence: tusadīan rasanān upari haun hān . PSP, p. 70. Cf. B-n 10:524. The likelihood of Bansāvalī-nāmā influence is further strengthened by the fact that one of the other passages peculiar to the PSP text draws directly and heavily from Kesar Singh's work. This is the PSP supplement which occurs within the apocalyptic narrative section of the extant text. PSP, pp. 113-15.

115. PSP, pp.68, 69. See Appendix.

116. ChS prologue (GNDU, f. la-b; SRL f. la-b), section 567.

117. GNSR, pp. 207 ff. 118. ChS 65, 125.

119. See above p.25.

1.10. ChS 459 and 460 (both of them items which concern the settlement of disputes) support this assumption.

ChS 599.

- Even here, however, the compiler occasionally assumes a range of understanding on the part of his readers and uses terms which are now very difficult to define with precision. The word prasad is indiscriminately used both for ordinary food and for karah prasad; and aradas may mean either a simple request or the distinctive Sikh prayer known as Ardas. Karah prasad is never defined in terms of its recipe, nor Ardas in terms of its
- Two examples are the series of items concerning the kes and the list of injunctions directed to female Sikhs. ChS 518-28, 550-67.

124. See English trans., note 118.

125. See below pp.47-48.

126. See English trans., note 9. 127. See English trans., note 12.

128. See English trans., note 18.

See English trans., note 382.

This injunction appears only in the PSP version, p. 71. See English trans., note 28. The GNDU/SRL text does, however, quote a couplet attributed to Guru Gobind Singh which enjoins the wearing of kachh, bangle, and knife (kachh dadhā karab). ChS 251.

- 131. The injunction, which concerns the disposal of charity, does not actually mention IN poor, but is immediately followed by an anecdote concerning a poor Sikh who receive financial assistance from the Guru (ChS 49-51).
- 132. This section has been considerably compressed. The Chaupa Singh text lays repealed (and repetitive) emphasis on the Gursikh's duty towards his fellow Sikhs.
- 133. Caste is the one issue which the Chaupā Singh compiler fails to make completely closs The text is clear in that it affirms the need to observe caste conventions, and the right of Brahmans to a position of continuing privilege. A reference in section 79 can, however, be construed to mean that in certain areas of social intercourse Sikhs should view each other as members of the same caste and of the same lineage descended from the Guill Other injunctions imply support for this familial view of the Panth. If this latter interpretation is correct it means that within the Panth caste observance is diminished by not abolished, a description which may be fairly applied to modern practice. ESC.
- 134. Kesar Singh Chhibbar justifies deference to Brahmans on the following grounds:

A Brahman Sikh should receive greater respect,

For thus shall the reputation of the Sikh faith be enhanced.

If not, other Brahmans will speak ill of it if ever a Brahman should become a Sikh,

B-n 10:354-5

In other words, the Brahman Sikhs should be regarded as custodians of the Panthi respectability in the eyes of their Hindu (and particularly their Brahman) neighbours. By retaining a qualified version of the traditional pattern of deference the Panth will ensure its acceptance by the larger society within which it must live. Injunction 3(v) supplies the qualification, one which significantly diminishes the concept of Brahmanical privilege Elsewhere Kesar Singh stresses that the Panth is for all four varnas. B-n 10:403, 492.

135. See ChS 3 and English trans., note 18.

136. There is no specific reference in the ChS text to either the akhand path (unbroken

reading) or the saptāhik pāṭh (a reading spread over seven days).

- 137. The details of the ritual described in 6 (c) ii/iii have been drawn from the ChS narrative description of the first kes baptism (ChS 178-83) as well as from the brief rahit-name rubric in ChS 90-91. The two accounts offer no contradiction. The only difference of any importance is that the narrative description makes no reference to the drinking of the sanctified water. Several terms are used in the ChS text to designate the rite. It h variously called gur-dīkhiā (the Guru's initiation), kesān dī pāhul (kes baptism), khande dī pāhul (sword baptism), and simply pāhul (or pāhal). ChS 61, 122, 178, 506. The literal meaning of pahul (pad-jal), is the same as charan-amrit, viz. 'foot-water'. (MK, p. 569n. See also note 39.) Its association with the sword has, however, detached it from its original sense.
- 138. It is not clear what the expressions translated as 'appropriate rites' are meant to cover They may signify rites appropriate to the caste of the deceased Sikh.
- An offence noted as section 467 indicates that a Sikh should bathe or at least perform the five ablutions before eating. Performing the five ablutions would mean washing the feel in addition to the hands and mouth.
- 140. See English trans., note 118.
- 141. See English trans., note 541.
- 142. ChS 157 ff.
- 143. ChS 184-88.
- 144. ChS 6.
- 145. See above p.15. The actual narrative occupies section 206-235 of the ChS text.
- 146. See above pp.16-17.
- 147. ChS 159, 162. 148. ChS 181.
- 149. ChS 583-86.
- 150. See above pp.18-19.
- 151. B-n 14:66-67, 105-111.
- 152. The expression raule de dait budhī sikh also appears and is translated as 'vicious Sikhs of evil understanding, ChS 581.

- 153 B-n 10:140-7.
- ChS 624-25.
- 35. ChS 49.
- 110 ChS 502.
- 177. Savaie mahale chauthe ke, AG, pp. 1402-4. The formula is used several times in this portion of the Adi Granth.
- B40 (Eng), p. 45n.
- The note in B40 (Eng), pp. 45-46, suggests that srī vāhigurū jī kī fateh can only mean 'Victory to Sri Vahiguru ji'. This is correct only if the honorific 'Sri' is retained. The ChS usage always omits it.
- 100. ChŠ 142.
- See for example the interchanging use of the two terms in the brief note on the plenary Ini. sangat which occurs in ChS 568 or the similar interchange in 587. An early example occurs in 25. See also 274, 279, 596, 643, 645. The same identity is also indicated by variant readings in different manuscripts. Whereas the SRL reading has vähigūrujī kahiā in lines 3-4 of folio 102b, the corresponding GNDU and PSP reading is gurū gobind singh jī kahiā (GNDU, f.205a-b; PSP, p. 51). See also ChS 1 (GNDU, f.1b; SRL, f.la). Kesar Singh also uses the two terms synonymously. See for example B-n 10:301, 304, 437.
- SRL, f. 81a (ChS 589). GNDU (f. 147a) and PSP (p.115) both omit the word.
- Surjit Singh Hans, 'Historical analysis of Sikh literature, A.D.1500-1850' (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, Guru Nanak Dev University, 1980), pp. 182-92.
- For a list of the twelve anecdotes see p.174.
- 105. See in particular ChS 579-82, a passage which seems clearly to be blaming Khatri arrogance for much of the current confusions, See also Rup Kaur Khatrani (177) and Rai Singh (571-72).

# १६ मिउगुग यूमारि

भगने गीउ मिडनुन् सी ॥ मे गीउउ विभा ॥ मास भा भगीउच भी ॥

गीउ गीड गीड गीड गाडि विवास । (भाभ गीड वीडिण विवास के उसके में गीड वडीरे ॥ भाभ मेंस मारिष गी।

याची विग्रिड मांचा सित सिर्टि ¶ ¼भ विग्रिड दिन गुवू चित्रादे से भैमी विग्रिड ॥ मांच ग्रंस स्पेरिक मी ॥

भैमी विग्ड वर्जे गिव थामा ै॥

श्री साथ मिथ में उरे में भैमी विग्ड दा सेमरा बवे॥ मेगदी

सिंग्ड राज्या हु भिमी भारे ॥ मास ग्रेंस माणिष मी मंड राव॥

सिंगिडिंस वर्जि ऐसी वर्जिंड से समी मामिटिंग ॥

वर्गि श्रुडिंड मैं वर्जिंड व्याव की दिमें न्यामिस है मू साथिड

श्री में ॥ यन न्यू वर मिस विग्ड सी सेमरा बवे भनेड

शत या में मिस उँदै वेम पाठी लावरा मिरामपाठी में ११११ ममें टिमारात लावरा पंत टिमारात वर्गे । पंत रेठी ११११) पदे । श्रु गमराम भी वा क्छा है पंत राठी में ११११) पदे । श्रु गमराम भी वा क्छा है पंत राठी में ११११) पदे ते वर्ग क्षा के माम में मेंद्र वे लावराम वर्गे । ११११ विभाग में साम मंगिडि मिसा दिशि नारे ।। मसा सवडे 10 ११११ है मारे । दुस दुस पैमा वैडी राहे भसा रेवे । १ ।।

एवं वर सिंध दिनि प्रमा री विन्त वने ॥ मेरी द्रारमित्र ।। ।। थ्रमारि सार भारे मसा मवउ युमारी माम । भसरा भारी सिंध रहिने पनि तास से बैठे ॥ भन्य मृत् वे ॥ मास

भटियां कि विड गर्ने हेरि॥ तात्रव गणु यह हे मेरि <sup>12</sup>॥२॥ अनु वा ने मिथ गर्दै में देन मीयिया मारे नग्नाम मेरन भी मुटे॥ ने यनभमार्के ता यग्न सने उा भायते भमसात ਉਪਰ थहे ॥ नैत यूमारि खारि वे यनभमाले लबद माय मीनिंड मिया दिन मारि बैठे ॥ वसा वीनउत् नोबिंट निन्ध वने सुटे ॥ माथ ग्रीम मारिय भी ॥

यग्रही गड़ी ढुहाइर ढहा डी पिइसी गिड़ि॥ में मार्गेत रूर्गेत में मारी बंते रागिड <sup>13</sup> ॥३॥ ग्रुच का में मिस गैर्दै में ढेन डेने मारि॥ में वसीसरान गैर्दै उन्नामित भागा पान डे पिइसा पानि डेटा ता बने॥

दीं गरे वे पर्राव विकास रे जैति ॥ [४]

िपहासी गिडि है हिं से बीदी बने ॥ टिमतातू बने ॥ णसरा पंत टिमताता बने ॥ णडे में तनकेट उँटी उँदै उँ ठंडे लब्दा ग्राम उडे 14 पाटी माय टिमताता बने म्र्यून ॥ बादी म्रायू बी प्रीडि तारिस पदे म्रायू वा में मिथु उँदै ॥ माथु म्रायू मारिष नी ॥

चिषे पित समाणिये मुनिउंग हिपते चाहु॥

दिता रिनणरा निष्ट रेमडी सत सुस मिर्गणहे 15॥[4]॥

ते ख़रू दी निस नैरे पेनी मेली ताडा ता वने॥ दन्ह बी

ता वने॥ १॥ दिव मेल मीटे॥ २॥ हुना मेल नाम निष्ठी॥ ३॥

डीना मेल पीन मालीरे॥ ४॥ चहुषा मेल ममरे॥ ४॥ पेनरा
भेल ममरीरो 16॥ दिता पार्चे री मंगडी रेठ ख़ुनू वे माव

बी गैत॥ पन तिरव रमट नेरे गैत॥ मैमे षिह दिने

दुल दल पड़ डाला तिवलरे जैति॥ ह॥

गुर्व वर भिस मगुष् और यीदे॥ मास ग्रीस मारिष मी॥

निउ पीडे भउ दून ठेरे घन है परे दिनि नारिश।
निप्ता पनािश मानिश महाती से सम्मा प्रे सािश।
निर्मित पीडे समस् दिसने रतनि भिक्ते समािश।
दूरा सद् म सुष्ठ पीचशी नेवा पान दमािश ॥॥॥॥
[भडे पीना भेक बनै॥ वह ॥ विपाम ॥ वेस ॥ घारी॥
सम्माित सनिडि॥ मुनु वा सिस हम कारो मिसिणा वा सरम

रा बने ॥ लुलू वा मिस् विधिणा रा सीहै ॥ काहै मजनयानी भै उा की रा दनडे ॥ रा तमहान केहे ॥] 18

गृत् स्रिय प्रमारि साह बैठे उ उब यैग विष्ट हरे। स्रम्म स्रित्र केंग्राग दिनि मारे। भरिष्ठ र्मारि प्रारे। प्रमारि पारा गारा त स्रे। विसे भारे हू प्रमारि सार दिने त स्त्रा उदे। सिडामास हाउग्राग्न भास से प्रमार स्थ पारे। प्राप्त स राज भाग रहें प्रमार गृत्व से सभ मारे। ए। मास और साजिश मी।

गुनु स में मिस उँदै पन्नानी जेने राजी 24 ॥ यृष्टिमङ्गेण ए मेंग र बने 25 ॥ विषाज् बने ॥ णपरे वनर णामन्म इंस री दनउरा बने ॥ मिम दिन मिस हू राग रा सने॥ देशी वन रा णाये॥ [११]॥

नु वा मिस गिर्द में वीतिया ता भाने ॥ बुद्धी भान भिस ताति ता दनने 26 ॥ [१२]॥

वेरितण रे यैमे ता सारे ॥ यांथ वेस मारिय नी ॥ मारि एड़ी नमभात बी मा डेवी रेड पात थापे डेवा नतम् वारिणा ॥ [१३]॥

रेज घर पुंज कू नेण ने 28 ॥ ने भारि घाय खारे उ मजने तवब पाउी ॥ [१४]॥

गुरु क भिषु वीतिण भेते तू त रेहैं ॥ भेते<sup>29</sup> की सरे॥

चगर री याज्स दिसारे ॥ [१4]॥ जब में तारे मियटी रू गाउं मजनपानी कू यागुर चनक री रेरे ॥ मेंब माजिब नी री मेंनी येरि वे हिन यउगमे यारि वे 30 ॥ मयनी यंत्र यहेरी भ यद वे भवर भरेर यंत्र यह दीभा यदि वे ॥ येस त्रिष्ठाहरों 31 ॥ १६ ॥

गृतु वा मिसु माव मिसु तारिष्ठ वरे॥ रेट छैट रा॥ रेथे उड मर रेथे भने तारित भना भिरार रेपि महे। माय वैष मारिच नी ॥

भूस मार गरा वर यह यह सारे गर <sup>32</sup> 11 १७ 11 गुरू का निभु गरीय मिथ मिथ मारिए माउग वरे ॥ मुरू मारित मेंच, युष्टरा में ॥ १८॥

गृत् वा मिस वेमयानी हिंतलीण रा पाली मिन् त यहार्डे 33 ॥ १९ ॥

लुवू वा मिस में हू टिवे वी वार त वरे ॥ वेमपारी तू में है दिया वेम उठ ॥ यामपानी ह यहार है ॥ भने भर्यटी ङाह्ली ॥२०॥ 34

गृ हे मिस रू ने छंग-स्मानम् वानन घरे। सेहव गर हैर ए ॥ उर में इ पार वाराम वरिर वे भायती बादमी मारिस हैउन हड़े ॥ २१॥

गुरु वा सिष सिष री मेर टार भागष् जिनरा रेहै भटवरि मारी ॥ २२॥

ग्रवू वे सिथ गारी च री तमार ग्रवू वी नीसव नग्रती ॥ २३॥

में म्राभट गृहू का मिस जैदे उर हमरी रूटी टरास बग्ही 35 ॥ दूरी तढा उदै ॥ त्रे मुखू की ट्रियों भै तमाउ रा गृत् रेषि वे भारे ॥ दुरु भगउष्ट्रा रे 36 ॥ २४ ॥

में गृत है मिस कू बेरी भाग मंबट घट मारे ॥ उ पिइसी नाडी तथती रे डेन येत देनी यारे ॥ यिणात दारितातु मारिष 31 रा वर्वे मिस पामे उस मुद्राप्टे ॥ नवा सवउ सेदा टिए बहै ॥ दारिगृह तमार <sup>38</sup> बहै ॥ भाभ मेम मारीय मी।

मउन्न द्रिपडे न्न मिस सुस राष्ट्रे 39 ॥ माथ ग्रुष्टू ॥ ज्ञे मिथ रू भन्ने ने ग्रुष्ट्रं समी भारे ॥२५॥ ने मं मिंडगुरू दिस्या ने सुमी जिला का संबंद विष्टु नरेंस ने ॥ १६॥ नुवू वा मिय नुवू वे मिय हू पहाटे मुसार रा भीता भा मदस र्रे । २७॥ न्यू य मिस दिवान मिस र भी में "। में माय ॥

बसन सेडी सीमीरे बिर सग्ज रहिंगी 41 [25] 11 मा रिह्न इरिएक मुंचे

भिक्रभागीं हेर त भाभी भीने ज़ित्र वे ठिवरे ब्रग्भ ग 3ित वे रित्रे तग्तव डिजे मेरा यग्भ <sup>42</sup> 11 2€ 11

माभ उँग ॥

थेउ यहारे घीने रातु ॥ में भुजी रममा सुदात 43 ॥ थें जो जैत याय दिता में यूरी 4 ॥ नुवू रा मिष सैट्यार्या ॥ भगमी में जी भगमी यात ख्यात सार ख्यार रेसे ॥ मैमा यात्र भारी भेवा डैसी घ्य उद्देशी ॥ ज्ञाणामी मिष पांडेड पाभ डेमर रा बने ॥ साथ व्यंय साउभ मी ॥

भारम यारे वरे तिहाम ॥ इने रमारित दित्र नस उना ॥ उत्र यानि म्यभेट युनीय हारा॥ 11 30 11 30 मिं के पार्काल हि भी 30 11

वाव वर भिर्म हिंतर भाठा सी मंगारित त वरे ॥ हिता ए ध्रेपरेम र छारे ॥ उनव ॥१॥ जेनी ॥२॥ यमास्य ॥३॥ भिग्ना मिरिट्र ॥३॥ मिरिया भाषा मिरिया ॥४॥ देनीमा ॥७॥ गरी भार ॥ दिन भारता यस समतवे ॥ भगते रा येत्रवी ॥ ३१॥

गृवू का मिथ युनानी गेरै ॥ गृतू की भीम त यारे ॥ म चुगरे ॥ भय ममट उंसी है ॥ यामी रंडी वमभी म उहै ॥ वाभी देयी निरंव भरेवारी मा उहै ॥ साथ

में मारी में भी भरस्य मने वीडिण किंदव वा राठु कारी 41 ॥ इ२॥ माभ मेंस मारिष जी। ने भत्र बुक्ते यथट त बीने ॥ भंडरी रहेका डेरे जीभा या तरी में 48 ॥ रात री यम यययानी कू ज़ैन है। इड़।। गृत् या मिष भारे जारी सर्वे त यगरे ॥ साप र्वेष मारिष मी॥ णायम वे ने बस वरादे ॥ 3ीमें बसुरी तीवर त भारे 49 1/ वयती र रेहै ॥ ३४॥ हेम यात- घडणारी गाडे यर्पड ते भमेरा रा त्राम बीउ ਹै ॥ ३५॥ गुरु या मिय ने विसे निय रे वीम दिन ने हैं। गयर महार्याव रेहै ॥ में गुरू से मिष री भमें मुसार छारि॥ चेवान विच विष्यु त छहारे ॥ माथ मेय मार्गिष ॥ घरने भरि उद्य रखास वे समदी हें वर्नेष्ट 50 ॥ ३६॥ मुठ दे मिस मिसे येंग मुड भिरां भैठट हैसे मुट्ट दी चवचा दावडा दवत ॥ माय मूम मारी मारी मा मिषे माय मंगउ उदे रिदर् ॥ जिनम् गार्नी मार बरिया 51 ॥३७॥ मुनु का मिस वेमायाठी भवदा सजनयाठी ॥ भयहा गुरु हु दे उन देश डाई वेग उदे गुरु मा याते॥ विमे रें बरे-बरारे चेंते-भेरे रेस ब्रहे तरी ॥ साथ ग्रंस माग्य मी ॥ मिंडनानु ने डुरिंडण िंडणप्त समसे नेम 52 11 30 11 गुरु वा भिय विमे भिय तू वसुपारे तरी ॥ भिय री भाव मुंचु राष्ट्र डारी है। माथ मुंब सारा जी ॥ मेरी मायी डविंड कडा है माये डवारित हुरै मेरि 53 ॥ ३६॥ गुरु का निष में भमषात गुरु वे भैठा उद्दे ॥ उर वैमा मुङ्गर वर्षे ने यस रिणास वियास ॥ सरिण सम्वाडि

व्रियम मा ने हैं ॥ मंगून म वनरा नारे ॥ ४०॥

गुन वा मिस मिनी मानिष रा गर्य वने युना वने ॥

गाय मानिष् युना वीजी ने ॥ ४१॥

गुन वा मिस नेट वीजे मिमा युमारि म यारे ॥ ४२॥

गुन वा मिस राम येमा युमारि युन्य नेन ने वने गुन हो भाग से भागी ने यामी ने मानी ने के से से माने माने ॥ यह माने ॥ यह माने माने ने माने ने मानिष्य मानिष्य मी ॥

में मिसी मंगा मिसा मानिष्य मी ॥

में मिसी मीमा मीना भागी ने हैं में मिनहैन मिनवाम ॥

में रिद्धीं जंगा भायक वित्य प्रेत्य तीच स्वारी भे ॥४३॥ चाः वा मिस मिलाभामी उद्दे में तित्र हैन तियवाम ॥ तिवभात तित्र रिक्सीं डिमा डे नी यीडी ॥ ह्रतीभा हे यहान्स तास नेउ त बने ॥ नामा सुरा त रिद्दे ॥ मास नाम मायह मी ॥ जंम नेउ सेंड बेंस चाने त्रसीभा भागि॥

यदि रहि तात्रवा उठी ने वर्गी स्तृति 55 ॥ ४४॥ वर्षे वर्गि माजायारी बर्दे ता वर्णे ॥ में वेदी मिथ् मित्रमें चस माजे था उन तारिस वी उत्त वर्णे ॥ में वेदी मिथ् मित्रमें चस मारे ॥ उन तारिस वी उत्त वर्णे ॥ मिथा मित्र प्रमारे तारिस के मारे ॥ दिसतात वर्णे प्रमार हर्णे ॥ में बी की ता वर्णे ॥ विश्वा वर्णे भयदी भारता ॥ दुस जिम् या था था वी उत्त पे दे मस्त किता ॥ ११॥ उद्या ॥ १३॥ उद्या ॥ १५॥ दित मुज्या ॥ १७॥ १६ वर्षे माणिय मी दा बेता पात वर्णे ॥ पेत वर्णे ॥ पेत वर्णे ॥ प्रमा वर्णे पेत दे भेते में वर्णे पेत दे भारी पेत वर्णे ॥ में वर्णे दे पित्र में वर्णे पेत दे ॥ में वर्णे दे पेत वर्णे ॥ में वर्णे दे पेत दे में वर्णे वर्णे ॥ में वर्णे दे पेत दे में वर्णे वर्णे ॥ में वर्णे दे पेत वर्णे ॥ में वर्णे पेत वर्णे में वर्णे पेत वर्णे में वर्

में मुद्ध का मिस पिहे सिसारिंग म्याप वर्ते ॥ में युग्ती भिस जेरे उन मिस कू युग्ने ॥ येउ राक्त भयवानी कू भिरे ॥ ४६॥

मिय री तैची युमारि यवभभाके लबदा मिय "गवबी तू रेहै <sup>58</sup> ॥४७॥

गुरू वर सिस विग्र रे तहे दिने रसर रसेंप गुरू भ रेरे ॥ जुरू वे भगम कारे सिस तू सरारे ॥ ४८॥

उत्तुव भी राउनुव युवत युवस भी हे भने देव मिस नानी य ते भारतम बीडी ॥ भी मने माउमारी मेरी सहबी रा मणा म है । भी यह जिब है में हैत भारत है । ४६॥ इन्त्र नेण ॥ सार विस तास वीउ गृही ॥ वग मी मिथ मारिज ॥ बचम जेण यवभ चंच अमामची म दिचि बैठ वे मिस ए याग्न डिमिंडा वन रेगि ॥ 40॥ उर यतम चेर दिचि षैठ वे में लग में म्वांने लारे वे वानम वन रिडा ॥ डिम मिस भापने यमारि रा सेंड जी x वीउ ॥ गर भंम डे जिन्म ॥ 49 ॥ वार वा मिस मठा वारे जिम्ह म रेरे विमे तु ॥ ५२॥ गर का का किया वैभ वैसी तास द्वेडा ने मर्गनियारी उद्दे ने ॥ चित्रम सम्बद्ध वधै ॥ सीराव चित्रवे रा यै ॥ यद ॥ गरू वा मिस रेगि रे नेभ त तुग्रे ॥ ने ग्रियुरी रेरे उ यग्दी वर हुउँ । रिसरम प्र ने है ॥ 4४॥ वाव वर मिस दरत द्याव अषदा विते नेव संघीष ॥ मिस तरह हैना तीदा सेह घो ॥ उर स्थम - स्थमारि सरे ॥ गाँउ दिनि म यारे ॥ येप॥ गर वार मिथ भैतरी गुरू की भते वे वधे तरी रेरे घ्छ रे इने ॥ ४६॥ गृत वा मिय मिय री मिरिया चुगाड़ी रमा घपीछी विनउ मानी रेस वे गयद भगिष्टण युदान रेख वे सुध रेध वे रथ त वरे ॥ साथ गुंब सारिष ती ॥ भिरम दार त बीमें ने सता। मरियु बीर बीर ली में ने भत 59 1141011 माथ जैव ॥ ित्रम भंरव चुवासी चुवासे हते वीडिंग वर्गडिंग अ क में व्याप्त कि में हैं। मास उँग ॥ र्तिरव वी गीं वड्य तरी 61 ॥ 4८॥ वावु वा मिस यद्गर विमे र त स्वे <sup>62</sup> ॥ या उने ता ने हैं ॥ 46॥

कु वे मिस वे थान एउवा तमे उा गुरा दिन याता र्थम मिस रे जन्म रे मस री पिगारे ॥ मिस गर् वा वनवे रीराम करे ॥ ६०॥ ने वेमयानी वनम जैरि उ मुउवे घण्ण वड वे भंडे री थाउस रिदारे॥ बेम नमभ रे मास वसे॥ मार्ष ग्रंब माग्य मी रिचे गरे वि ॥ भीउ यहे रागे प्रश्र तरारे " ॥ ६१॥ ख़र वा मिथ उर्षे - यारी लड़ारी विमे त्रास त वरे ॥ भएते बेम री भष्रते दस रेसे ॥६२॥ 65 नान द्रा मिथ चेनी चेथी हम3 हिवला त यारे॥ मिथा ताति भीड सारे ॥ ई३॥ येमी किय पद देने राजी ॥ बेट मेंस सरे देनी दमउ तात मार बह तरी गीरण ॥ थमी ताल हैना है युमी तारिष रेश। माथ मेंब मारिष मी। ियुग दिता रा मीरिया में दिख्य दिख्य देसत तारी ॥ भेडी डिम बी देमरी यहारा है मारी मार्ट 66 ॥ र्हि ॥ मुं का मिस भयते प्रमि दिस हो ॥ यहारिया प्र वरे।। माध ग्रंब माग्य नी वी ।।। *गर िष्ठ वेर त नारु*च देरी <sup>थ</sup> ॥६५॥ गत ता मिथ पृष्टिपवान त न्हिस त वने ॥ मनपा मंबाई प्रींउ दपारे ॥ यद्भे सुरुते रा रेर् तढा रै ॥ माध ग्रंम मारिष नी ॥ रिस्टिमा दिसारी उग यूष्ट्रेपरानी 68 ॥ ईई॥ वार का मिय ने अपती सामि दिश्वि विमे मिय रे र्छन-म्यानस् यदे ॥ यूते रा उसा यनते रा ॥ अ उँ देखा पगर्जी यग्रहेत गुनु वे दर्छे मिथ हू मिय वर रेस्ट ॥६७॥ गृ वर मिस सियानी उँदै उर येसी विषय सगीउष मी सिसरे नियम हू रेपै ॥ येम री बेट होरै ॥ सम्भ रोष सारिष भी॥ जिनम किने निर्भे में जिन में जब <sup>69</sup> 11 दें ए 11

गुनू वर मिस ने यनभमासी भा निहै से वैसा निहै॥

म्म त्र वरे तिरुक्ते तिरुभारी ॥ त्र में में प्रमुणार षी ॥ मिन्सी ॥ देस्न ॥ रिस्पा मार्केट ॥ राज्याचेड ॥ ताउडरा ॥ भउम् दिन ॥ यइरे वम ॥ मगेउ ॥ रेग यहिउ ॥ टग्स वरे ॥ र्वेड यारे ॥ यूरेमी भिष री दमउ मुनेउ 10 मिम दिनि रेंग गुरु नेदित्र ॥ रगर-दीर नेदे ॥ सम्भ ग्रीम सम्म मर फिन्नुट रीमें सप्ट मंड एनभमासी हे " ॥ हं E ॥

गृत् वे मिथ दामी दासे भैमे मिथ यवभमासी है री मैग रंग ॥ रंग-मुणाग्य दिच यस यस पागराम मुगू सी वनती ॥ भाडे याममास्तिष्टे ची सभास बीडे नार्टी ॥ ७०॥ पन्भमार दिनि नमाम यन म उद्देश मुनू से थन न्तृ वे मिथ नानी य ॥ भनसी ॥ अमतराम नाउ देवानी म चारी हे ॥ साथ ग्रंथ सारिष जी ॥

वकी भरेव तातवा निता रा भरेउग्व।। यीम हूटी थुउ महूटी मेंटू मिर्ना रा यवराव " 1109 11 वाव या मिय भिया युउ र येसी व्येष माउष ती॥ मघर घाती वीगउत मियारे ॥ यीग सुमंर त यहे ॥ गुरु वा भारा नाटे ॥ घरा त उरे ॥ ७२ ॥

बुर मिप मिप्टरास टास मेरा भर बार्ष वरे ॥ थिउ मभाम मार्ड ॥ ७३॥

त्रे मिस युउ तू संटी तत्रव रेसे में वीर्जंडा ॥ नामरा र्ह्य निष्यु तरी १ ७४ ॥

गृत् या भिष जेरिय वे भिष रे षास बरे नमाने भास या कू रेथ वे घठी तमन त उवे ॥७५॥

गृवू वा मियं मियं टी टराम मेरा वरे ॥ थीउ छाष्ट मास ॥ यगिर् समाम ॥ ७६॥

खुवू वर मिस Mवसी 13 में मिस रे यावे वेहै में यूमारि मेरियु बन मारे ॥७७॥

गृरू वर मिथ तर जैत्रत दुस कुर भूतरीर छेवन यिके मिस री नमती चरारे ॥ उँ थिके भाय सारे ॥ ७६॥ वाव का मिस जैरि वे मिस डियंव मट म बवे ॥ मिस

रे उउ बीडे त्रवर यायि उसी है " ॥ वैवर यांडर बस राडिण वाले ॥ साथ वींच मारीय त्री ॥ मित दे सुणभी ठाउ उन्न <sup>75</sup> ॥ युग्रिंग त सुदी ॥ र्वज्ञ गरे ॥ रिव में इ ब्रुस रे ॥ रिव वार बस ने 11 0 € 11 ग्रं वे भिष समरी में भिगवान उनका सी दिनी के। ित मु मड़े बहु ब्रविण्डा भार ॥ रिव दिन् मित ॥ त्रीत्रेमण - गउ॥ उपटा ॥ विविभाग ॥ हेर त त्रवता 16॥ नेनर यनर उर स्थमारि छैटा सारिण रेरा ॥ ने विमे मिथं रा वीभ भारि घरे ॥ उा जैरे घर भटवारि तरी वनग्रि रेला ॥ ८०॥ मानू वर मिय में दी यें में त उसे 11 59 11 मुनु वे मिथ याम में बनिउरी भा दूर वे भारे मर्गर गुवू दी ॥ उ भेख लेख ॥ ८२॥

मुट्ट वे मिथ ब्रोनिगडी रे युड़ी रे " र यथ मगी रवरः ॥ साथ वोष सारिष त्री ॥

भिविणा दूना उर्व यत्ते घर थरहे 18 ॥ एउ॥ मेरे जयते रहेवाव वर्षेरी दिस निष वसे ॥ ग्रवरी देयीना अयरो ॥ चेव याव ॥ मुष्टे-घात्र ॥ युवरिउउीणा त्र वधे ॥ ८४॥ नुनु वा मिथ घेमुय त जैहै ॥ नुन यामे मिथा यामे भा र देते ॥ साथ ग्रंष साग्य ती ॥ भग देने या मुठा मिर <sup>80</sup> ॥

रेग मास ॥ मिंडनान डे में सुरू होने में नुभरे ता टिव्रीत ॥ यग्उ भमभात त इसुटी दिसे दिसटा यहे यसेत 81 115411 गुरू वर मिष रहें तार वीचे त बासित खबदीण बासर ॥ में खबरीभा म रेरे उन डी रिव भयी खबरी है दिन स्पेगएई॥ गुरु क भिष ग्रामें जीस कर उसे ॥ भाष ग्रीष मारिष्

ग्रुगेड्र गिरुम में प्रांत िप्रांड मतभे ॥ बाबिंग म्युग मुबर्गा ड्रम्ड सत्तुग <sup>82</sup> ॥ ए०॥ ग्रुग्न स्पित्र मिथ पागुम रहे ॥ मुद्ध में पुरुत ग्रेटे डेद्धी ॥ मेंहा बी टिंग्स्ड बार्ड ग्रुग्मिडि मिथ ए ग्रे ॥ एए॥ ज्यु बा मिथ माडे <sup>83</sup> प्रकाडे बिता त द्वेडे ता दिसाग् बरे ॥ समेड मो ॥ ए९॥

बुव का मिथ मिथ मू <sup>84</sup> या गुरु रहत रहते ॥ 37 खुव ती रोगिया री भिमारा है ॥ यम सुसे नमदी स्वारे ॥ मीम देवी ॥ दारी खुवमी का साममा रागि खुवमी की देवे मुम्हारे ॥ मुक्ताम भेंड खुवभी रा है परेम बने ॥ दे०॥ या गुरु रेस्ट्रासा मिथ बाभी बे्दी साती रंबी देवानी त नेरे ॥ वग्रवरात नेरे ॥ भाय खुव त मराहे ॥ देश॥ खुव का मिथ बेमा री या मुत्र बने ॥ रे हस्य बंधा॥ नेरे री ताम ॥ भैका ग्रम त सारे ॥ मी त पहेल रेरे ॥ मुनेउ नने ॥ खुव की स्वीग्न तिमाती मिथी वी नारे ॥ देश॥

ने यागुर दिना वसे में बेंड खगडी भाग मानहा।। तिग्रावा ॥ धुम री वास चडवारी मड दूठी ॥ माप वीष मागच नी ॥

निष्ठ तिन्नुग ष्ट्र घाउं मारे ६० जीव रवना है विसटी हैं। ६३। नुरु वा मिस मेंद्र भेक भिसा दिच मारे हैं। में नुरु तेरे 37 मिस भूमारि केटा ॥ ६४॥

ग्रुट का मिस मिस मू भारत हे ति ॥ अष्ट वनम संट इस्तर ॥ दामी रा पनम में ने निम्हर विभाग मास ॥ भिस दिस मिस मू निमा स्वान महे जैरे मैस ॥ दिव उ महर यन्न महा ॥ दुने मिस री यह म भी जिसी है। ॥ जी ने मिस री नज हुप भादरी मै॥ स्वीसे नमा मन्नी संप्त सनमा ॥ हुई॥

गृत् वा तिय निय दिन नारे उर दी नार वे बैठे ॥ यंगाउ दिन ॥ विमे निय रे भने त बैठे ॥ रे यारे उरे उत भागे भैठिमा ॥ रिव उ रिक के रा भार यटर है ॥

हमा भएर भार दयरा है ॥ ६७॥

ग्रा र प्रे ॥ ६८॥

ग्रा या र र में भी में में स्वा से में से से से से से से में से में से में से में से में एक से ॥ भार हमा में एक से मार्थ में एक से ॥ उसे में एक से मार्थ में ॥

उसे भार हो दास हो में में मार्थ में से मार्थ में ॥

राम भार उसे मिस मार र रिमार र वरे ॥ दिसा भार से ॥ हिंदी॥

ग्रा या र में ॥ हेर र रे है ॥ इस व्य मारे ॥ मार्थ औष मार्थ मी ॥

में मार्थ मी ॥

में से मार्थ मी ॥

में से सार्थ मार्थ से भारित है में भिर्मित है से भारित है से भारित है ।

भभेय सरा ॥ वाभ विभागे वसुप तन में नग सुह चरा <sup>89</sup> ॥१००॥ ग्राच्च वे मिस तू वेटी मिस भिर्मे भगवी भाषर एगेरामा ॥ उटे घर मिस तू वयन्ने युभारि टेरे ॥ वेमी भगमे स्वारे ॥ वन्ने सुनस्च उटी है ॥ १०१॥ ग्राच्च वर मिस जेनी सानी नुभा त सेने ॥ मास ग्री

भागम नी ॥

चेन चान जूभान पी है याती भा <sup>90</sup> ॥१०२॥

ग्रान् वा मिथ ने विसे वंभ दिन गेरे ॥ उग ग्रान्

शास भिथ तास सम्भीध ने ॥ सामिश्या रा दिसाग्

तारी ॥ साथ ग्रींष सागम ती ॥

हित भारिणा ब्राउं यन गारे <sup>91</sup> ॥ १०३॥ जुनू वा मिस समारि यारा दनउारा नामा त वने ॥ ऐप सुवा यहेरीभा जैत <sup>92</sup> ॥ मान वे दिञ्चा त वने ॥ वाना त नेदे ॥ १०४॥

गृहू वर मिस भवर मिसरी भारा ग्रासी एमार पारे उस चेरि छहे ॥ तस रहे त गरे गरा त वरे ॥ प्रमार रा भरष वरे ॥ १०५॥ गृहू वर मिस वारे बैठवे मिउवा ताल मेंग वरे ॥

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यस्डि की ॥ १०६॥

न् वा निष न् वा की अहिसार हू मेरे। न् वी माना हू मेरे। न् वी माना हू मेरे। न् वी के त्रावा टासी भा हू मेरे। न् वि वे त्रियों हू मेरे। निर्मा हू साइए [रे] भापते भाषिभा ने दिसा हू मेरे युने। निर्मा ने वि वे स्त्रीरे नैत। माथ न् वा मार्थ नी।

त्रिम रू भाभ तारे ता है लारि ॥
रगगी भिसे डिमे जी मारि ॥ १०७॥
ला वा का मिस बिडे बान में मारे ॥ भामरा रेम भामरा
प्रेम ॥ भाभते ला बी भानराम बन के ट्रने ॥ १००॥
ला बा का मिस रेम प्रेम मेडिं हुने थिन भारे॥
भारे प्रमामारे समा टेब मारे॥ ममा म्वड थने
भारिके युग्न बने॥ १०६॥

णुव र मिस में त्रिमें जैन राफि षारीन दनिया। नेदें॥ उर एस महादि सहें ॥ ११०॥

मुंच वर सिथं डीवयं मारे॥ मुंच्छणावे मारे॥ जेरे मिं दिसे टा पात त यारे॥ बहु विसे तू यहारे॥ दिसाव त चिउहे त स्वे॥ यव भारे मया मस्ति सिथं तू उप पुणारे॥ साथ मुंच साउप मी॥

जीवम उथ रिष्णा रउ रात ॥

मे से पारे डिस का भात भा
डिस रा यह रेरा है ॥ डीवम हिंच राय वर्वे यत वर्वे ॥ १११॥
वार्वे का भिय भवमी में दामी दिने द्वे वावर्णावे
भामरा डीवमी ॥ में दामीदासे तास रेदत ॥ उर हम री
प्मारि पार्टी यव री यमव से रे मादित ॥ में तास
त रेदत ॥ उर मम मवड मने निय री युमा वनत
हमरे भाषाव सभात ॥ निम दामी दिने भवमी तिनम
लिण रवरी देनी विश्र में दामी नियस
व्य रेरी है ॥ हारिभा रेरे दस त रेरे १६ ॥ ११२॥

6 वार्वे वर मिय में हिंता दिसांसी यूनी दिने रोमी ॥ में

भुग त जेमी ॥ त रिद्वाग ववेना त वगरेना ॥ मुप भिनभक्ष जेमी ॥ ११३॥

में डेभी विष्ठें, रा मिथ जैमी ॥ हैंड भीम ॥ में मठब दिया मेंनुवारिंड जैमी ॥ दल इस दिमाम थाउरी ११ ॥ भविष्ठियत यवपत यवतावी विडि ॥ तामड इसी वेंव साव भूरे बान भाती रेंडी ॥ यार्थंडी तीच ॥ बाभी बसी उवाभी ॥ भवब दिवाव हैम यामें जैसत ॥ ने वान दिन जैसी उा भतिंड भातम बनमी ॥ रेथेटे कू मिथ जै ॥ माथ व्यं सगीउंब नी ॥

इभी इभ दिम भव यङ्ग तिभद्धा ॥ भूत भुष हमांचे डिम त्रिम ङ्क तरम त भारती ॥११४॥ खून वे मिस रिष नेडी यहारु सैटमे भन्ने तामड भूपी त यहात्रत्रमे ॥ साथ मेंस साराच नी ॥

सेटे बेंसम यो सने सान त नाहै।।

भये का ताष्ट्र सान्ध कारी वसी दिहाहे " 11914।।

गृन वे मिस तू ने मिस गमे ताम ताम ही निम्

भायटों 100 ।। उन ही ग्रम मुद्रार स्थमारेना।। मिस भने

ग्य ने दिभा भारे वाता गि स्थमें नारे जैत ।। ११६।।

गृन वा मिस मिस दिस सैठवे वारी नाम दिसे।

सने। साथ ग्रंस साग्य मी।।

यग्ने म भने मानी हे 101 ॥११७॥ साम जैन ॥

मे वे रगाि घ्उं घेरै मामानी 102 ॥ जुनू वा मिथ सबर थाठ वीगउत मिथ दिस बैठवे वने॥ रीम मार मेरे ॥ १९८॥

गुरु मास गिरदारी 103 त रहे ॥ भिरे बेंसे गुरु ॥ भित्रारा तास ॥ माथ ग्रीस मारिष ती ॥ त्रिउ बेंसिओ यदि यारीणीत सा बेंसिका स्टार्स

त्रि3 बेरिज़ों पित पाष्टीमित मा बेरिज़मा युद्दात 10 ॥ जुन का मिथ नम्ब थार रिम्तात त बने ॥ जुन का मिथ जमतदात ॥ युमारि स्मिग्टा थारे ॥ निम्म री चार नरे ॥ में पिद्द ॥ भिष्ठ रेदिंडिभा दं जेम्त्र ॥ में युन बन बाङ बिना में भीत भातूस भागत।। बाङ बिन हैंह।। डे ने हपीब जैहें में हिस माभातू ॥ यसुभा रा भागत।। बर त भड़ा रहेरा है <sup>105</sup> ॥ ताले हुस रेरा है ॥ बातू वा निस बुले तु भागत। यारे ॥ ११६॥

गुरु वा मिर्प ने प्रेरामी वर्ते उा भए हे गुरु वे भमस्ता रेथे ॥ गुरु वा भिर्प ने घरत वर्ते में भिष्ठा वर्ते ॥ वैद्धा त वर्ते ॥ विरा त र्थारे ॥ माथ ग्रैंब मारिष् नी ॥

िणाष्ट्र ते वर्ग ठाष्ट्र भारत सब भागे सहरे 100 ॥

गृत् वा मिस भागे बनत भाग्य भारत हनते ॥

बेसनमार त रहे ॥ मास मिस मारिस मी १० सैसा ॥

हर्ज़ वे सुउ रे बाभत वे तरि वै उप भारत रे मु बने ॥

भान भाष्ट्र में मान भिने नार वे डिए डिभान वरा

चित उर में पने ॥

भष ठी घ्रै रेग द्रै गभ त्रे में है गें है गें है बित्र विव त्रेग बने ॥ त्रष भण्डे वी भिष्ठप क्रिस्टात बने भउगी वत्र भै उष मुद्र भने <sup>110</sup>॥

गृहू वा मिष प्रमि हिंथरेम वर्गे ॥ हमर माम उने <sup>111</sup> माम करना म वर्गे ॥ पीरम री चरना जैस <sup>112</sup> चरना ॥ वान चरना म वर्गे <sup>113</sup> ॥ िष्मा पीरम प्रमि यम वर्भे <sup>114</sup> ॥१२१॥ गृहू वा भिष्म पण्डा सारे उा मुचे उमिष अनम्हाम भुषदाम री उपी सारे ॥ वारा मीमा सिंदा वेद्वा म उद्दे ॥

र्रोचराबी 115 भारतात्रीभा घर-बरमी चैर सार मुभागीभा भेजारी त उरे ॥ निम रे उमें गुररी दिए सरीरी है॥ िय है बन्भ दिन जिया जैसा छैटराछे रा॥ अ मुने उ यार्ने यागुस सहरे ॥ गृन् वा निस यारात ीरे गरीय नेरे ॥ भयते सत्रयंपी त गरभी यग्भ र ियरेम वरे । में यादार ने रै भयरे में यर यूदा रह मरव यव रेथे ॥ भयारी दिभव दस मरव यव रेथे ॥ में भी3ी विउती है जी री विउती है। गार जसम्म रेठि रीभां जेत ॥ घार नुभारी विवय चरुर ॥ उर डे बरोमा नी दह रा दिणा ਹै।। <sup>116</sup> भने री स्वरी दन एरे॥ भाभका मतर्वयीमा चे वास यारे॥ अउ येडे जारीभा रे ॥ भाष मिडिमेंगाउ वरे ॥ भाष में व्यस्ड री फिला की वरे ॥ गुरू की ज़े सिकी है ॥ में नस करा मित वित्र ॥ यग्र भवाम यग्य मग्य मग्य दिस द्वेरोगी ॥ धुनत युन्य रा ने मंबरुप ने में भीमा नी दिविभा नै॥ भाग अही-भाग मा पारि से यह माहेगी ॥ मुनू स मिस निरास मेरा यहे॥ विसट त ने है ॥ १२२॥

गृहू वर मिथ थूमार थारा ॥ राम रेरा ॥ अमम वरा ॥ व्रेप म वरे ॥ व्रेप चेंडात्म ते ॥ चेंडात्म री मंगिडि मरी वरमी ॥ माथ थाडिमारी १० ॥

यग्भ मिष्ट इप डे बन्भ सम्य डे चंड हे न्य डे रैंड यग्ने 118 ॥

गुरू वर मिथ असे मिथ री मंगीं वर्गे ॥ तिम रे मंग अर्ष-थीं युजीं मचरू सुप थायि वेरे ॥ गुरू वर मिथ मचरू घाटी चग्च छम त्रास वर्गे ॥ नेग्दा थीं त्रास यहे महे ॥ साथ ग्रंस साग्च त्री ॥

िषत गाग्य गुरु देंची भे उर्ष गुरु मिग्ने नगरि ।। १२३॥ युन्डदात तास चनचा यमरी ॥ निस्म रा दस रेजू है ॥ साथ ग्रींस साग्य मी ॥

गुर वा गाग्रव में भिरो उर्व गृत सुम मिवारि 120 11

वावू वा निष वावू वी चम्च राग्उा सम्र री वीग भारूष गरु त बरे । साथ न्वं मण्य नी ॥ यग्यन मगीर त बीने वषा ॥ रेग मैं मिंड गृन की तका 121 ॥१२४॥ गृनु का मिस भारते गृनु की हैमउउ बने ॥ 122 ता तिरा वरे ता वरहारे ॥ ता खरा भारते त भारत है ॥ में साथ ॥ में न्न नेथे भाथक बिष्ट मिन्ने चेसा <sup>123</sup> ॥ गुरु वर मिथ जिसस भामी सुथारी मनाउ दिस मर्रे ॥ रिस्ते यग्भ री विग्र ॥ दिवे महर हारी री च्यूचा ॥ हाम गृत् वे यउते मुटते यत्रे ॥ मास वीस माणिय ती ॥ ज्यम में जैरे यगराट उर भोजस समम र या है सी 124 11 1241 में वार् या मिथ भथारे ॥ भड़े सघर विष सारी व भी रा मुरु बरे वे भेरे भएती भाषिणा चुबभ दिस वासुउग्त ने ॥ साथ ग्रंब साउघ मी ॥ युने नान या ज्वस म संमे हिंग समस्य भीनाभाग सुठा सारिका 126 ॥ खु वर संघर सिंध जेरि वे <sup>121</sup> चेनकः दीचाव ववरा वजे ॥ मिधी थ्रांथित रेसी है। साथ ग्रंब साराष्ट्र मी। मिसी मिसिभा छाउ दी छाउ 128 ॥ १२६॥ खुव वर सिंध की 3 टर्प दिमास स्त्रीमा हे वस तर वारे त मुटे ॥ साथ वांस माग्य मी ॥ न्न वम नित्र घर तरी अदै मरीणे नित्र नित्रीन नदगरिणा 129 ॥ १२०॥ लुवे का निय द्विणा से वामा प्राप्त वसा दिस प्र यह ॥ र मुटे ॥ साथ गुंध साग्य नी ॥ गवा मार हेंड जीव सेही भे डा रवनिज थारी भी भाम 130 11925, णुव रा मिस विका जाव दी बाटी मधर मासी विका गुव वी त यहे त मुहे ॥ माथ ग्रंष माग्य भी ॥ मिं उग्रे विका में बची बाही॥ बरहे बरे महरे बरे बरी भाभ दका ही 131 1192811

गृहू वर मिथ मारि कास रहेटे कारिस ॥ ग्वा थार्रेट कास पुर कर वर्ते ॥ घ्रा का विउदे विसे रा॥ माथ ग्रंब मारिष की , यव वर घरा क गाने चीउ ॥

भार सुती सुतरत नासे भारत मन से खेरे <sup>134</sup> ॥१३२॥ <sup>135</sup> नान या मिथ सुबर निजाम रा नेन यारे उर मन्ब भिथ तु स्रिरानु ती दी दने बुसरारे ॥१३३॥

गुर्वे वर मिस उत्र भत्र सुत् गुर्वे तु भवये ॥ साथ ग्रंस भारत्रिष्ठ मी ॥ सेंड दाव॥

ढ़ नी ए में डू भेग ਹੋ वने मुख मग ने व जेर हैं ॥ शाब हम ए जेर ने हिन नाबु का जैसे ॥ १३४॥

गृन का निथ रेम-यरेम समउ-त्रम् जिट नाहै उर भिष हामी <sup>131</sup> हा है स री ट्रास वनत ॥ भाडे एवर गास गृन वे ताडे ॥ हम रे यसे जिहे भायहा त जिहे ॥ भिष तु जानिया वनत ॥ भायते यसिष साहत ॥ गृन् तास गृंद्ध यहारा है ॥ १३५॥

ने लुटू वे मिय हूं वेटी मेंबर घर गारे ॥ भारिण र भवर उन वेटी ॥ उरे घर मिय नाउ मिय ए मेंबर बरा ॥ ध्य ए दिउ रेयवे भथरे थाने ॥ भवनी नेथी बम धी <sup>138</sup> घुउ थंस दिन यम नाटने ॥ मभन्न घीनान बन छैटी ॥ मिय टी खन्नवी रा मुभान्य उरे मिय राष्ठ उ मिय रामी दासे रास्त जिल्ल जिल्ला है। अस्ति स्वाप्ति करारि

गुरु वर मिय ग्रेग-भद्री ॥ वश्व ॥ रेगुरा ॥ समीउ ॥ भुक्त बाज़ी मा भेरे ॥ विषय खुव भुभूते ॥ साम्भ है 139 ॥ नेन भरी भर बुस म भग्ने 140 ॥ १३७॥ गुरु वा मिथ छउवा भरेउ ग्रंष सारिष ती रे याठ तु त स्कारे मिथासहरास थाम बैठ मिथारे ॥ भरव मेडी विंस सारिय मी गुवू वर माटे ॥ १३८॥ लु वर मिस याठ वरत भैठे ग्रेंघ माउन भी रा उर मुरेउ जैरि वे बैठे ॥ तव पिंडा सुविव] वे उस प्रेरि सरे। माथ वीस माग्य भी। येकी युभेमत का सम्ह 141 ॥ १३६॥ गुरू वर मिथ में विमे मिथ ग्रेस मु मु वरम वर मिथी वा मुनभित र हिंपरेम वने ॥ उर मिस हू वने ॥ मैन हू त वरे 142 || यर रिएउ ए हैपरेम वरे ॥ वह भाप डी वसारे ॥ में हैम कू रिंड रेहै ॥ माथ ग्रंस मारे मी ॥ ॥ है। है तिरे मित्र किहेल हिंदे किल गे अध्य हि िप्यमे सत य्वेषे भयत याहै भरत तीकारे 144 ॥ चेन माभ ॥ भद्र हैपरेमें भाग त बरे। भार्ड मार्ड मतमे भरे १४०॥ राष्ट्र वर मिय ग्रंम मारिष ती ए पद वे बेन पाहर समे ॥ उर मियारी री मिय यह वे त्रय यहे मसेव हैयव बेग भारे बेडी हटी तरीस 146 11 289 11 गृत वर मिथ वरवम ववर हम उवस्य यहर 11286 II form 194 פופרים בופרים मुख् का मिथ भर रा दिमार र वरे। देवारे डे रतमे ॥ माथ मंद मारिष मी ॥ यत यट डेल तरी विमाम 3 यर हिस्मार 148 11831 व्व वे निय जिम रामी दिन येंग भेड एम में यान मिय ए उरे ॥ रिसे रित्र भमयात गुरू वा यग्भमाल

। हार माला भारत वारिया विदेश मिल में भारत है। भारे मिष री ट्यल बनती उत्ते भने ॥१४४॥ गृरु वर मिभ वेभा रे जैवान विन मिभी त गदारे॥ लेग घारा ही निमाती मिथी ही जैत ॥ मिथी भीटिंग ारे ॥ मास वांच मण्य मी ॥ तम्त्रव मे दिस तथ उनिर ॥ यम यम भारे मं बेरि 149 ॥ 11 200 11 यंग रूउ भुंड युठाडे बेम वारे देवा रूउ रे 150 ॥ ीं। साम ॥ बेम व वि चैं चुल दे मंड युद्ध स्प राष्टी 151 ॥ 11 7000 म मम भाषि वेम वार यटवे उर्ह सुस वेट स्गरिवा 152 ॥ 11 121/2 11 राम वे चनत वेम मेंग इप्निष्ट 153 ॥ 43 2774 11 वेम नहीं नैमे थाम वा युक्त -154 ॥ 13 774 11 बादै साचे वेम वन बादें थनत मंत्रातर 155 ॥ 1134127 90 11 यम वेस यने मिरो जीन दियाने 156 11 98411 मिसी समारी ॥ चन्न सघर री ॥ यन्न रामी री ॥ "दुस मेग रा ॥ भी म यग्न रा ॥ भी गाग माग्यां रा ॥ विग्र यम्भ री ॥ उदीभाग मंड रा ॥ द्वार स्व रा ॥ बाग पुरुष र ॥ तम रेवा र ॥ रात डेवा र ॥ युना सुन से एमें ममत्र की ॥ माभ येत री ॥ सम बेरी मिभी री ॥ में अ टिनिस्त से ॥ सीनी घरत ही <sup>157</sup> ॥स्त्राम त्त्रित से ॥ उदार्ष्ड भार्या ए॥ उन यनरान रा ॥ मुमाउ उसी तान रा॥ तान बुस री ॥ गठा उस्व ए ॥ भर्ते हा युवभ रा ॥ मव वा युवभ गुरू का उग्हा ॥ मेर्की मिसी री ॥ भागिमा विदेष मारिष

ती री ॥ रीराग स्पास रे ॥ तागारा जित्रम रा ॥ शिस्तरत बेमा रा ॥ डिमागार देयाग रा ॥ द्वाउट मुगेडी री ॥ मिसरा स्मारा रा ॥ मीउ मिरे री ॥ मिनेब स्तिर रा ॥ मोरा मिस री ॥ मिस गुण् वा ॥ स्विड ग्वाग्डारी री ॥ टिमा साउ रिका री ॥ स्वटा मेंब रा ॥ गार्टा बेह रा ॥ मिमराजी टिमास री ॥ खार्ड भारित रा ॥ दें उसारा गुरे रा ॥ भिउद्दा गिसमारी रा ॥ सामारा स्मारी रा ॥ स्मारि बद्वाप रा ॥ मुस मसे रा ॥ मुस मारा १९% ॥ १८% ॥ स्मारि बद्वाप रा ॥ मुस मसे रा ॥ मुस री ॥ १८% ॥

नु वर मिस नुनमुसी असना भएष वने ॥ शैन जेठ त भारत ॥ युद्धीभा ता खेते ॥ १४७॥ नुनू वा भिस तेना मुस दिन ता ताहै ॥ १४८॥

गुरू वा मिथ हारी वेठ बने ॥ १४९॥ गुरू वा मिथ द्यां ने षठ वे मुनग हू तथमने आध वे मिथा हु हारिजारू ती वी ढने ह्यारा ॥ १५०॥

गृह वर मिथ तरे घर घरे तू तममन् आप वे मिथा तू हर्यग्राह मी वी ढडे घरारे ॥१४१॥

बुं का मिस चिरे में कू रेम क लगारे ॥ १५२॥ में खुं का मिस भापकी स्मय उपीउ काल सी में गा में मर्गम् खुं भाभि उद्युत रिष्ट से उन्ने गा ॥ १५३॥ में रिल टरे भाडे मिका सीउ स्रेग मरे म्ल ॥ मास वीस मारीम भी ॥

मया चटी में उने ता ग्रह्म त प्रियान 160 ॥ १५४॥ टिंग में मचत मीचान बनने मिथा टी अनमी तास भागिमा ग्रांचू की तास किसे जैत ॥ में मिथा तू भासे जैत॥ मगड़ तू तरी भासे ॥ १५५॥ चेन टिका डे मिटाटि में ग्रांगड़ - गिंगड़ गढ़ी चेहैं 161 मिथा टी दीचान तास ॥ मेटी ग्रांगु वा मिथा सभारे ॥ उसे बनमें ता टरें ॥ १५६॥

उठा डे भरू रेम से लारे ॥ रामीण राहे म्प्र ॥
धन्मभी ग्रेंप मिंथ विकार ॥ में भें ३ १७२१ ॥ मण्म
एसीणाव महरारे ॥ हेटी हास हेटी उठराव ॥ डीव सभात ॥
प्रदाव हास हुनी दिने ॥ तासे ठेव थें का मां अव भरमपा
धीणा थें कर मां से तास टिनिसीरे में गुव्या ॥ में भें ३ १७२४
राम स्पा मिंथ पामें गुव्या भी भाव भने टार्मिण
भावना रे भिज्ञा गरे १००० में ॥ मं भें ३ १७२६ वारी दिया
लाभ म्रामह मिंथ पामें दावसी १००० से मीजिम
पेरे ॥ में में नाम नी दिसम् पामें दिसह नी मीरीपह पामें
सीरका भाव सब मिंथ ना हिस्सी भाव भावे ॥

मंभ3 102 र िष्णागु की उग्ने चे से राम पंडे वस एक समा किया बनेते ित अता मासे अग्ने वस्पात ष्टूब षाव पर दूस एक प्रमा से उनि से से से से से से रिने रिने में हिमा है जिस में स्मी से में हिमा है जिस में मारे में मारे में उनका से मारे में उनका से मारे किया मारे में उनका से मारि द की भारी जैसे अपित मारे में उनका से मारि किया मारे में से सामित का के जैसे अपारे में से समाम सामा मारे से समाम सामा सामा

देन हूनी देनी ड्रन्य में मरे॥ मागिष मा गरे॥
पद्गरा वन गरे॥ ड्रन्य मु भने हमटा मु षुठे वन भागता॥
ड्रन्य री मद्ग पटरी॥ में हमटा रे बने सने मिणाष्ट्र मिशा॥
मागिष नारुवे 165 भापरा भाप पवदारिका भिष् हरिष्ट
मनी राम ने भनी राम री राम घूरमा मिस हरिष्ट

ठीवन देन रिकीम मिन थुंड युन वीमें थि भगते ॥ डेन घारन भी बि्ण वनी ते वितर्ने भगीत ॥१६०॥ डेन घारन वे चलउ डिएई नगड वे मेंव ॥ डै डै डे मंड नम डिएई ने ने ने मनलेव 169 ॥१६१॥ घेरत तास मीम राजियान वीडा ॥ घुन्त उभा भा विडते मिथ तास वैभ भागे ॥ मी सने पारियान

मिभ विउते मिथ तास वैभ भारे ॥ ती मचे पारियाण एिट मिथ घ्रमें इंडियन टीरात भागे नमेरीरे ॥ मारिय ग्वे थमारि थारे भागे में मुग्म वंन्ने थमारिट 60 वनरे न्मे ॥ तास न् वे वे ति ॥ हियन भामा अभारी मिथ भित स्व उरे <sup>110</sup> ॥ थिडिसिंगा तु उग्न नरे ॥ हेन रिश् थदी यदी उीव मारिय ड्रैमती न्मे ॥ १६४॥

देव इकत जैरिण मिस मिस उग भमाडे इग्र भागे॥ भी मचे थाउमाग मा होसा जैरे॥ मा दिव वारे॥ तीमाती उग विसे तु तारी मिसी री में वेरी मिस मारी बने॥ १६५॥

उ वेप त्रांस वनत जैरिण ॥ भैमी तिमाती खुर्गना ने उनाम दिस मिस सरेंड पिहे ह्रेसे ताजी ॥ रिज वनत वीज वे माणिव विष्ण ध्यीन बैठे ॥ मिडरे रित मनीन रे एस भाषि युजे ॥ मांडे नसारि वे जनत उस दिनि सारिवे ॥ जीनमा डेने ॥ १६६ ॥

डेन रित नान पुनात <sup>171</sup> री यस रेदी रामु 433

उ भाउर ती इन्तर बीउर ॥ बेटर बरान्यात नी रित्रण न्यारी ।। उर नेड् न्ड्रेस मंभउ १७३३ मारिब टेटी राम यामें मभर मारिड युक्के मन्त्रर समेर भड़े नियु री मलारित त्यारिस ग्रामणारी री मंत्री बैठे ॥ १६९॥

स्वत जैरिण हिस्वा निया तू मरे ॥ उा मारित्र वेर ते यवभ वेर रेत्रे भारिर जामत जैरे ॥ स्वत जेभा में वेभ ख़बू वा मगार्खे ॥ रिता भारियभा गतीत्र निरंग्त सातू रेडी यज्ञ तरी ॥ १७०॥

मनत रेणा उमाडे रहे जमेमा न्नू वे बेम दिन न्ये तेत ॥ रन्या महा 173 डे जीना तरे घ्रामत हिम्म मिस मडरी पाडिमाजी बेम दिन न्ये जैत ॥ मडी राम मडे भडी राम घ्रामत हिम्म भटरी भडे तारी भाडिमाजी बेम दिन न्ये जैत ॥ भडे तारा मुन बे तिने ॥ इमी बिष्ठ तमरे रें ॥ बेस मभारें ॥ १७१॥

साय गम सिथ हू बचत जेण ॥ सिवेपाष्ट्र छिणाष्ट्र ॥ रियोती रवबारिव री रा सिवेपाष्ट्र सारिव चंर हू रोण ॥ १७२॥

समारे डेमेसारे रा मिन्याष्ट्री प्रमा नेर हूँ गेणा ॥ विश विभ गमन गेरे ॥ उा समरिंग हूँ गुत्रसुतारे किस भिक्ते ॥ समरे मंगडा हरू टुने ॥ भड़े माणिष समड् यत्रहे ॥ भड़े गहुमात ताट्य री येषी मिस् के भारिषा ॥ १७३॥

रिन ਹੋन वषीयमी यहते हडी। तासे वस्प रेदी राम खे। में यही रे। तासे मिवान सेडीरे। तासे षांव यट थेडी है ॥ मैंभ3 १७३४ माथ जयती नमता डे ਉਚਾਰਿਆ ॥ स्री जवास ਉमडाँड ਉਚਾਰी <sup>174</sup> ॥ ਹੁਕਮੁताहे मिथ इसि तिस्थे ॥ में सिस्थानी मिथ जैहै में जनून जाहै॥१०॥

मंभ3 १७३५ भयन मुरी पंचभी नुवू डेन। मारासन मी वा मप <sup>175</sup> वीडी घडा मना पन्य गिष्टण ॥ घानी रा छुचन गैरा नो ॥ रिव म्या मी सम्प्रे मानान घरिणा॥ दूमा ग्रीय भी <sup>176</sup> [भो छुडान <sup>171</sup> सीसा रा घरिणा॥ भडे मुय ग्रेण सन नामे ढाडे साग सासा॥ १७५॥

भड़े वव उरव प्रवेश मिथा नी मीडी चीव भार हे ये हे याम णारमी बेनिणा ॥ ने भगिर ग्रांस मागिष मी भागाते बेने ॥ शिक्ता नषाष रिउए ॥ उर मिथानी मेंस्ती भगिर बेनिणा ने इमी बी जुवू ने <sup>178</sup> नेत षड़ारि सार्ष ॥ स्वत ने ले हैका भड़े भामा दिता ने ॥ हिन्न वरे रेरे नैत ॥ १७६॥

मैंग3 १७३७ ढंडे मांग तक ॥ मुस्र मिला ढंडे पारी ॥ मृष् वामिणां मृतृ गेरे ॥ बंडे बंडे मुप गेरे मांग्वमारे जी बेम लारे ॥ मिस बंगुड स्त्रों बंडे लया है गिर वंगे ॥ मेंग3 १७४८ रिव संउगारी वृप बैंग समीर री ॥ मेले दिसासी रे रुजैंगे तारिस मंगिड रे लारी ॥ हमते मांगिष तास बड़ा हसु बीला ॥ यन येम त निला ॥ हम रे पमपारि चीनड़ हैचान गेरे मंगड १७५३ जारे मुरी लसटभी जैंग पारिला ॥ १००॥

देन मार्ग युन्त युन्ध भी यंष छने तथेइत ॥ मंभेड १७५४ मार्ने रित मडहे बेमां ही थाराख ए ष्ट्रेस बीडा ॥ इसत रेण स्थे मिथा बटने रिस थाटी थारि बै कै भाष्ट्र ॥ में कै भारिण ॥ घसत रेण राष्ट्र बन्ट <sup>180</sup> यबद्ध बे हिस देन भड़े यंत्र मुखे यद्य ॥ १७८॥

राम उँथ मिथ पद्मे खना <sup>181</sup> उग रीहात माणिष चंर ते बेतडी बीडी ॥ ती मचे थाडिमांग ने हिच थडामे पष्टुत उग नम गढा गेहै ॥ षचत गैण पनभ चंरा हिच थडामे भारित थार्षु ॥ उग बटेना डियान तनने राम देन मारिष अपती गर्सा ियुष्मे थागुरा, सैंप मिंप तू शि3ी 184 ॥ भड़े घ्रम र्वाउ घर दागु मुन ती या थासमा बागुनान ती वो दे ॥ भड़े चान मिस थाम निम नेन भागे॥ बिग्रम में इ से हिंठ सदे गेरे ॥ सेनी गर्मा हिंता तू रिदारी ॥ घरत गेम उत्रथा राष्ठि हिंते थामें 185 ॥ योगा भिंप गरी मिंप सेटा मिंप में मिंप ॥ यिगरो दित भेगु योन मिस सेमायानी मिंप घरे॥ १८९॥

्रेन रित ਹੋਰ मिस उस नेंद्र संदेंडे ॥ घरत रोण नें अद्गार्ट स्मारि बरवे येन मिया यामे येन महसे यदा वे आभितु हवारि छैठा ॥

र्गच यनद्गत येच थ्यात 186 ॥
श्रीमा मिभा दिन भिरा से यागुर हेटी ॥ हानू सा मिथा
स्वता ॥ निगड हिपरेम हानभंड़ ममड़ नच्छे ॥ ता हि
स्पारि से मिथा नच्छा 187 ॥ हम टित येडी मिथा
सेमपानी नेहे ॥ जीने टित मठ 188 नेहे ॥ ने सेमपानी नेहे
हम रा मागिष घडा भात स्पारत ॥ ने ममड़ ष्रित भाहे
हम रा घडा भात सनत ॥ भाड़े निम रे चिग्ने हुडे निभम
नेहे हम री दिडामारी सनत ॥ १८२॥

न्म रेज ने मिथा मेरी रे ने ममउ वसे ॥ भैमी नुगडि वर मारिष पंद्य तसेद हमे ॥ तिमात्री मिसी री वेम भिक्ते ॥ ने वेप ताल घरत वीडा मी में युग वीडा ॥ १८३॥ मंभ3 १७५४ चर्र देवा नेस <sup>189</sup> र भेस मी ॥ में अमर यन ब्रेंपी नेरी ॥ ब्रह्म हम क्र क्यारी चेडे भमंर ते ॥ भड़े विते मने ॥ ड्रें हेती खंगा दिस मर ने में त भारे ॥ बस्त नेभा बाखीभा ने में स्मारि है ना है ॥ उर नी तर भती ॥ मारिष थारि हैते स्मारि ॥ न्यस नेभा ना ते त यारित ॥ यव इ हिमा है ॥ बहु तते बहु यव ने भाने मारे ॥ १८४॥ भी मांस में मारिष मी ॥

तामित सममे वने बनाबनी दिन मैनउ जोरित पारि॥ दम्य नहारे भापरा मेरे भिरा पारा अदि <sup>191</sup> ॥ १६५॥ घनत गेणा पनम नेंसा निस्स तू किसे ॥ ने समेर ममेरीरे प्रतिरे तू तरी संतरा ॥ ने बह जम न्यू वे तिभिउ सी जेंदे में भाष की जादरी ॥ भड़े उद्योगान बंत वे भादरा ॥ १८६॥

उग रीहात संगीय चैर भवराम बीडी ॥ संग्रे थाउसाउ इै भेल भथते संबे में भगे जी तिबक्षे जैसात ॥ उन्न टिंग डी तिबसे ॥ यस जेमा ॥ रेता चहुंजा रे सेहब डी तिबसे ॥ १८७॥

मगत रोण टीहात ती मिथि[] तूं किप्या वाव बेट रा एवसताहा संभ3 १७५५ रा सेता ॥ सेहज्ञा नुवू वा सतरा ॥ समेर तरी सतरा ॥ सम्यू वपटे ॥ १८८ ॥

में ममञ्चानी मिथ बैमा गैरें ॥ ताले रा नड़ी गैरे ॥
टिल रा मथा है <sup>192</sup> ॥ ममञ् रा दिमागू त बने ॥ बादे बैठा
रूमें मिथा तू ममञ् रे बे खदा बने ॥ रूड रमभत रेथे
हैठ खदा गैरें ॥ मेंच बनत बैठे डा नी मुनेड बैठे ॥ हुंया
त गैरे ॥ मैसे नातरन राहे नी जुनारे है भड़े डबरा
निगरा है ॥ १८६॥

समञ्चानी मिथा वह रिस पिठ हे है तरी ॥ नीउँ नम यारै भनै सवयन यारै ॥ १६०॥

म्मर्पानी मिथ नारित भरैर त मेरे ॥ खरे भिने तेना त मेरे ॥ यनारी बंते ॥ तैमे मेन भनेउ तरी नरिरा ॥ १६९॥ ममर्पानी मिथा तारि छैपन ममर्त त सने ॥ १६९॥ ममर्पानी मिंथ उंग्न बपदे भयती जाहता रे ग्ये॥ बहु भादी [त] ग्ये <sup>193</sup> तिम सी बिमे रे बाग्य त जेशि॥ १६३॥ ममद्रपानी मिंथ ममद्र दिरिण मिथरा ग्रे॥ १६४॥ मसद्रपानी मिंथ रिमतात बग्ने निक्ती सुबी यारि हारे अहु हुने तंगा त ग्रे॥ १६४॥

समञ्चानी मिथा समञ्जू री युमा युप रेरा नने ॥ १९६॥ समञ्चानी [मिथ] समञ्ज्ञी सन्ते ॥ १९०॥ त्रेमायानी मिथा रेम यनरेस दहन घपान दिन जी मुनेउ

में।। मारु यहार रा दियागु हिंपने सी मेंग।।। १९८।।

में सेययानी समञ्चानी सिंथ गेरे डिम हू ग्रमन रा
जीता मगु ने ॥ भयते मुन सा रीरान है।। मत्य भनत सिंटा मारा है।। भारते मानु सा रीरान है।। मत्य भनत सिंटा है।। मारा है।। ना यहानस नुमू है।। मीरत युस्ति सिंटी है। में ग्रमन निजरा है।। १९९॥

मगीज री समी ज़ुप हुंपन है। वेम ज़े रात वीडे हैित । भड़े समड़ यवदा है हैित । में दाड़े ज़ुप रे । नुप सनत डा नज़ यादत । २००॥

गम मागिष पुंगर पंगथ उगया थामे सेग्रहा ਹै॥ भड़े पंष रेटा ਹै ॥ घरा सुसा ਹैम ॥ २०१॥

में नर् माणिष वान न्वणाष्टी रे बैठे भागे॥ उरे पिछो नी रीदा भारी गैंभा भी॥ भागास रुमाचे बासि॥ शीदा त रेचीरे ता बासीरे॥ में रीरे नगाउ रे वाने बारमाग शित्र ॥ में द्व ववते वीडे॥ दामडे पंष रे॥ गाम पंष तू रेवे उववा भारे हा पामें देव सेहा गै॥ में वाव विभा तासि उवव भारे जी भारोरे वारे नैत ॥ २०२॥

मिथ मिथु मेरी जै ज़े ग़ुनू वर दैन सरे ॥२०३॥ युर् मेरी ज़े थिंडा रा दैन सरे ॥ ममङ्पानी मिय भिडरा मुचेड न्हें डिडरा चेना ॥२०४॥

रिम यम दाभड़े मी दाग्रग्न विग्डा यग्न मी भाउा पिडा भग्ने घेतड़ी वीडी ਹै ॥ २०५ ॥ पाउमागी १०॥ ठाच अमे भे नेग विग्न घर यग्ने मिन् तिभाष्टि॥

र्थंय चले उत्र नगउ भे में उभ वर्ने मजार 194 ॥ २०५॥ में विउ रामडे ने थिंग्छे मी भवास युग्य नी हिता मु घरम बीउ है ॥ में नगउ हिस हमट घरुउ दिश वरे हैित ॥ उँ नाग भने सेना तास नयारि ॥ भने खेंब याया त खने रैत गटा है ॥ यग्भ पंच यहा वन ॥ सी भवास प्रथ एग ॥ भे भयर मड़ डेरि निदाना ॥ यंच यत्नत दत्र वे स समा ॥ मा उर है पनभ चरा है ॥ इषुप बनत है स्वि उट है <sup>195</sup> ॥२०५, उ मारिष रिम यंच रामडे घेतडी वीडी है। में भाउं रेही भाडे थिंडा भाषास यग्य पारिमारी १०॥ [मम्बरास है पिङा भयामा ॥ रेषि दारिस्वा भाउ उभामा ॥] भिंग बाउ सुन भारता भारती ॥ तित्र से दे सुब दिशा ५३७ धी १९०६ में भाउंग पिउंग सरामित जैरिंग बेटा दिवागी।। भयती यवर बहर तरी ॥ भड़े थिष्ठे यु रेते रिये रेत ॥ रिट तरी ॥ टिम दामडे घरत बीउा है ॥ ते भी वह पनमेमन हुंचन है॥ डे मा तन्त्र हुंड में यन है 197 ॥ २०७॥ भाडे घरत है।

जीन ज़ीत जीन दृष्टि देव जै विश्व विश्वजन विह्न तारीज ॥ जस डे छुपन उनेन निष्ठे मस जी विश्वे समारीज <sup>198</sup> ॥ डा देदै दिव जेटे ॥ २०८॥

में भवास युवंष दल रिडा यंब बल ॥ भड़े भाडा यामें दल कैट दामड़े जैभ बलता बीडा ॥ ियुबंभे देवी राम कू यिढणा ॥ में वेटी ब्रामत है में भमाकू जैभ बलारे ॥ हम भाषिमा निविध्न तिदान डमा बी हिपमा जिरमा वेटी करी ॥ बचत जेमा ब्रामत चारते जा ॥ में वेटी ब्राभत जैदे ॥ २०६॥

विस्तृत्व स्व िथण है ॥ में घ्रभत थवी दिण दामड़े त्रव बीडा ॥ तासे भग यूमारि वसीण युसाई ॥ तासे सुनी वर्षेवी ॥ में दृद्धे दृद्धे हैं घ्रभर तिवसे ॥ घरत जेण ॥ भने घ्रभ णंम विस्तृत्व दिश्चि है ॥ उन दिव घ्रभत यीडाउ वसभी ने मराशिण ॥ मिद्द्यावन ६म रा ताष्ट्री में ॥२१०॥ हुमा हिसत थाम घ्राभा थीं बामीर्ष सराष्ट्रिण ॥ भाडे बामब राम घ्राभा घ्राभा णहान रसले सराष्ट्रिण ॥ ल्याम माढे माउ जमान धनन भाष्ट्रिण ॥ ष्टिता रे सरते हियू ॥७५००॥ घनत जेण प्राम नेरा जैम र थनन मरा लिखरा माउ ॥ २११॥

बामी हारा भड़े बमभीनी बिसे ॥ ते तहारा हिचे गी प्वार बनाने ॥ भड़े प्उड याउग ती रा भारत ॥ भियन बासवा राम रे गीव मै ॥ ११६॥

उर स्राह्म राम घर सीउर ॥ मी भगवान ॥ देडा ने इरड नेम रा हिठारिषा है ड्रमा में सी सावत है ॥ ११७॥ घर नेण रैड भमाड़े तास दिवादी है ॥ डिता रा ताम सवता है ॥ सासवा राम सिवा ॥ भगवान ड्रमी शमव री तेउन भी नेश हैठारे ने ॥ ड्रमी मांडे ॥ रैड रेट्डे भारि ही ससे भारे हैति ॥ दिए नस्ता हैठारी त भगातू नेन है ॥ २१८॥

मंग्र जेण ॥ थिउ दन भमारू रिउ है ॥ में यंष य्वार बिन ॥ यम्प याय वन्त सी उट्य खेळा रू ॥ बाखवा राम भाषिभा ॥ निम इमारू दन रिउ है छमे रू इमी भाषरे ॥ रेत्रे वन रूमा विष्ट यैरे वीडे ती ॥ वे ष्टम यामें बारे भारे ॥ ४१६॥

घर जेण भमारू येथ वरात्र रा विष्टु घरत वीडेम्॥ वासवा राम भाषिण स्तीसा भाउं॥ विसाम वरता॥ हैर



चारे उर दिव रभ दिन है ठरिष्ट रेरे ॥ उमाकू नी भारिका र इस वनवे रिभार रै ॥ उमी विष्ठ भारक मिभा कैरे रे ॥ केरे हैम री ननी हैठारे रे ॥ ११०॥

म्बर रेण भमी सेरे भाध में है ए ॥ भामाङ म्बर त हुन रेहे ॥ वास्त्र राम भाधिण उसी म्बर जी पास ॥ भड़े येष जी चसाह ॥ भड़े तें जी त है हा हु ॥ मारिष म्वा सम्वर रेहे ॥ वास्त्र राम भाधिणा भाड़ा भाहें नी ॥ री राव सह ॥ यव दिरा चिउदत वाती ने भामाङ यंष चसे ॥ भड़े हैं उन रा म्हा थटे ॥ दिस दिन यंष जी उमाङ युमिय रेमी ॥ भड़े नम जी रेमी ॥ म्हा में हैता रा भी रे रेहिणा ॥ यव याया रा मसेन नम दिन है ॥ हेरा माष्य नामा प्राम है उसा वना रेमी ॥ यंथ हे मुका यंष्य युड वाने रैति ॥ १२१॥

माणिष देव उमती ने वाहे ॥ वासव राम भाषिणा भेत त ववे ॥ थाथा तू वाही ठाग्व हेने ॥ देव माणिष युम्ते ने वे षिसे ॥ ष्टात नेणा भामा थंस हे उग्वा चाव वीते नेत ॥१॥ दिव ही रावी ॥२॥ रूने युवने ॥३॥ जीने भाषित्री ॥४॥ ग्रेषे युवीर ॥ में थाथा तू भाषित्री थंस दिस्ति ठानंति रिजी ॥२२२॥

रिंग बचत मुंह बन भाभ दियास मिथ नी ॥ टीहात मारिब चेंट्र ॥ धनातची यमभ चेंट्र ॥ बैंग मिथ चेंट्र ॥ चाने एव मेंद्र बे हुँठ थराँडे ॥ भाषिभा मी मचे थाडिमाए ॥ टीरानी वेगदे रैत ॥ भड़े सुबड़े बहुह रैति ॥ भड़े भारिद्यी वितृ भाभीरे ॥ भड़े सुनीर बहुह नाहीभित ॥ २२३॥

मरात रोण रीरानी रेति रैत ॥ में उर लमाने तास पाम रैत ॥ न्य दिर मतभुष रेरे रैत ॥ यानमान एउ पी मान निका रेम दउत हुउ ने लमाने पाम निका ॥ मुप नमें मतभुष रे ने ॥ लपते नुतू लने में रिषे धुषे माने तास रीत ॥ २२४॥

भड़े स्वड़े ६० ज़े सदाने दी डिगा र्यं प्रिन दामड़े मिथी रे नुप वनत्ने ॥ मीम रेत्रने मिथी न्यतिने ॥ भारिया रेतिने मिथी न्यतने ॥ मिथा रे मैंबर वरतने ॥ में भूवित हू यूग्यित जैमित ॥ २२५॥

हैत रे पिहे मारिवी जेमित ॥ हैत मिस रे उप बनत भीम रेटे वववे ड्वय रा मुख भीत जे नामी ॥ भारिवी भीरे जेत्रते ॥ में विजेडे मिसी ह मेमिनार दवउतते ॥ भपते मनाह दिस ॥ २१६॥

भड़े सुनीर देरी रिवसे, पंच दिव नेमत ॥ ने यब बुह एरिड कव दी मात्रहवी ॥ १२७॥

हिंग इस दिन विशेष सामित्र वास्त्र राम दिस विभाग वीउग ॥ वास्त्र राम भाविषा ॥ भग्गा वस्तु रहा है ॥ भाउं रे सरह दिशि ॥ इस्ट जेण मिल्ड ॥ वर्गे ॥ भग्गा स्राही रिक्त इत्र ॥ हिंपगाम ॥ भामक भावेस ॥ भरूस विभाग॥ एउगमक तेम मग्गा ॥ इसक जेण मग्गा ॥ ११९॥

भजागम भगहाती सवडा ॥ डैभातव वृद्ध रीराग रेत्रगीभा ॥ सतुद्ध री सभगदा तजी में सजावे ॥ घरत रोभा ॥ सिंड ॥ २२९॥

दे[ग] बालव राम बिजा हिम्मा बर्गे ॥ सिन्गी मन भंगाष्ट्रे ॥ प्रम ग्रेंट्र तारित मिथं के बे मने बिह्न भाषि हिन्द बीउः ॥ २३०॥

राम भाने वसे ॥ संडे यह जिस रेते वरे नहे ॥ साउ मी भाउति विभाग रिष्ट नहे ॥ २३१॥

उ बालव राम छवत लारि वे होते. च्यात मुगेउ वीडे ॥ दिसत थाल भारिभा भाउग त्री भारे ॥ उमी बालव राम भारिभा विसे नारे माउँ ॥ स्पष्ट यमउब भाभवा रिमडेड् यद्धे ॥ हैता रे यद्धते वव गीव लगा भारे ॥ २३३॥ वालव राम विशेषा मागिम तू ॥ भगवात्र ते उमी मीम रेरे उ भे भीम सहारि सेरा ॥ भाडे भे मीम रेरा उ भेग विसे तारी मी सार हा ॥ भाडे ते बेर त रेरीरी उ दवरा सवाप गिर नारा ॥ दिशा र मरहा

बेट त वसती ॥ रेग चेनी तारी ॥ यह भाउंग मी यूमत मियाने ॥ मचत जेंगा येत मैं यत मैं ॥ १३४॥ सभउ १७५६ भाउंग मी तैता रेसी रे जमस्पत जेंभ सीडा ॥ २३५॥

मनषड ब्रिभट हूं एसटा एमावा रेवे दिरिणा बीडा ॥ उन मनषड नामी उरे ॥ दिव रेदी राम विष्टाका में यन रा भाग में के सारि भागिभा ॥ हिं निम निम ॥ वमभीनी यंडिड की दिरिणा उरिणा ॥ बामी हाक्ष यंडिड दिमत याक्ष की दिनिणा । षड़ी भागिण रिडी ॥ नामी युमंत उंचे दुने ॥ भाडे वासुव राम की टुनिणा में निम्याम मी ॥ ममत नेणा यनम चेरा मनषड नामी उरे ॥ विमाण नानीष निदान डेने बीडे ॥ दिव रेदी राम नुका है ॥ २३६॥

समत जेण की जायर है। जी जायर है। में म्राना रिंग जाप मिरण तेरी । समत जेण रिक्त म्याना रिंग हैम री मिना तेरी मी । १।। में सा ।। किस बे निजा ।। १३७। में बेरी लेस कि सिर्पा में सी यापित है निमान मु मेंब कि स्वेग में बेड़ ज्याप ती मिरसे सार है बुस के बेप चिडन्।। मांने कि का थेरे रैंगे जाम बसे ड्रम से किएने मीज याने।। हुई। मुंडे बिड़ सिप्त से रिक्ट्रे ये बटाइ बिप् से किएने जी ।।

द्यारे कास नेस सेट् किंगसी बीयधाय रा॥ रसर लपमे मुद्र ॥ रे डेनिमण ॥ भाउे मन्त्र वीउः ॥ युमः मुटरात्र 1) है। निमा हैपन रेही सी दिए नेहैं। आड़े दिरिण यन भंपनत उत्ति ॥ डिरा सी में वनती ॥ चनत मंस मगीम भी ॥ यीं 33 हेर्सार पेकी मात्र क्षेत्रिय हीरार ॥ भर बहु भड़ी हे स्कृति सारिका है साया 201 ॥ २३६॥ ऐस मारिष री माथ बरूत जेण । रिटा युना नेवा देमें ब्राभर जैति। म्रुभटा मेंग हियगढे म्रुभ राज्य मि युगर्टीय 2012 11811 नीमा ज्रमि डिस सीभा में मेहत रव भूजीभा 203 ॥३॥ भगत जेंगा ॥ विमान ती निष साम संगित सनम्त ॥ गण्ड ताम ॥ मुम ॥ भर तरह ॥ ०४०॥ दे वर्ष की अधि ॥ हि भरि भा ग्रम मिडे हिर्मे वे युमारि हिर्मी वे युमारि म राज बने ॥ भय भाष्ट्रिय टरें हिम्मी वे यूमारि ] हिम्मी वर्गे विय दिनित्र सम्भ अते ॥ रिटर्सी वे एमारि म िनिटण छटी किसी वी विए मड मर् यमे ॥ रितरी दी दिए दे माने उभ है तरी सेमे निहा यते यते 204 ॥ 282 ॥ रेहा राम वेषवे थड़ेंडा सी । यहत रेणा रेहडा ने रिश अग्रम दिता संधुवत वगरा रिष्णा ॥ उर रेडे रात इसात् मन्बर ब्रायह रू रिडे ॥ २४२॥ उ रेही राम विराण भगगम मामी भी भाष रे थि रे J' ॥ चरत रेण उमी डी सर्ष ॥१॥ माराष मी मैंदा हैर्राम् ॥ मेर बरी रितर्र की अरहीड भ्रष्टिकी मेर मुगंड त नीवें ॥ एत रीखें रिष्त्रजी वे बसे भारते एत त समा तीवें ॥ भारों दस है रिट्रारी वे सी हे तवा भें तम भाष्ठ वे यह दिवे॥ में ग्रिडे उत्र डे प्र डे मिन से मन जी स्तिले 205 ॥२४३॥ त्रर स्मिष्ठ रिय वचत् वीतः उम् रेही राम याम वह म्यम भीम रा हेडा घर राजी भाग में भागे मंकाब नहें॥ था में छेम रे भरित गुमरी में मारिष वरि मुरुष्टी ॥२४४॥ चटपटारि चिउ में मिठिये दिल मिछ त्यु जेरि।।
धेन ठेन दे जेडि सिता रखें भिमान मू निष्ट <sup>206</sup> ॥२४५॥
भिमान रीभा भांमू दुरि भारिशा ॥ यहार जेभा ॥ रेस्डा
उमी घ्राभार जे भाषा भाषा थढा है ॥ रेसी राम चनती
साता ॥ में भौने नउर बिन दे थम बीडा जै राज्या ॥ याकु
दे मिथ रू सेनार चारी है ॥ विजित विकेश समर मीचान

मिस रू टिर् रा चारी है ने रिडण याय दिवान चिउदे ॥ मास वीस सारिष्ठ नी ॥ उब यमारिण रातवा हैम सुन हैम गारि <sup>201</sup> ॥

ਹੋਰ माथ ॥

पवित्रमा वादह नगीं मेरी उग्मा नीभीं।॥

पित्र पृत्रि जिवीं। पवरवष्ट्र हिंदू वर्ड द्वावीभीं। 1008 ॥२४७॥

रिम दामडे मगीं व भागवा पंच मोमाव ममूद पी

साट दिवें नुरा वीडा है॥ भैंमे पेंमदे नामे षाठी मुरा
वीडी ॥ ज़े मीठे डी षाठी खवात ववत ॥ प्रियी हे रा युड्

भिग्वहात विश्वास्व जेण ॥ २४८॥

प्रचार जेण बारी व्यवहास डेवीण वसता हैपव व्यू है ॥

ड्रें मारी ही स्तारा विव ॥ उग डारी व्यवहास विष साधिक ती री सी उ क्यी णारि ॥ डैसे रेंग पंप तर वी उग है॥ जिंदू समस्त्रभात ही भाषी दिस्त हिन दिस्त ॥ यदाव रा पारि इंडिंगा है ॥ त वासे त तिवसे दिस्त वज्ज ॥ २४९॥ व्यू वा निष सम इं हिटा हुउग वथ यासी त वरे ॥

मनम होंग री नहां गमते 209 ॥२५०॥
में मुंगू वे मिस मिरवरात सी उरात ॥ मंगर मृत् वे पींच दिनि गमित ॥ यन दिनहें में वे ॥ भैंमें मागिष चस्तु वी उर्गे ॥ रेगन ॥

वह उरा यवम वयत विव वेथे मुख भीठ ॥

ग्ह उडे थाग मीणले डे तन दिनले डीठ <sup>210</sup> ॥२५१॥ ਹੋਰ माध ग्रेंष मारीच भी ॥

हैत हिन्छे तारी थते हैस ढबइ संसान 211 ॥ में नुन् वा मिप संसान रे हैस ढबई। हेवानी दिन त पहें 212 ॥ संसान तास युनी विसे री थप्ती तारी ॥ त संदा री त अषुदान री ॥ साथ मंद्य सारिष्य ॥

बगउं डे संमानी भ नेंद्र बरे त भाषिमा 213 ॥ २५२॥ मारिक् परिक्रे भिक्त तारिक्ष ॥ डागे चड़ी हेमतादार दिन वेडा भागवा हैठारिक्षा ॥ भाषत क्रमे उप रिष्ट वे भूर दूसत रे थित डेनत बनरा है ॥ भाडे क्राम डेन तू अडनरा है ॥ दिन तारी भाष्ट्रा ॥ मा मारिक् क्रमी भाष्ट्रा ॥ मा मारिक क्रमी भाष्ट्रा ॥ मा मारिक क्रमी भाष्ट्रा ॥ से मारिक क्रमी भाष्ट्रा ॥ से मारिक क्रमी है थित री है है अनेंद्र वे रिक्ष री भाष्ट्रा ॥ ३ व्यान ही हो है ॥ ३५३॥

मारिष हुनै नामे तास हुंमां बेडा मानवा कीडा अषाभी षठ वे ॥ भारे पी रे सैरे खिर गतम उरे ॥ भाभत सती निस्त्व चड़ाउस भागा भाषी हींड रेग ॥ डेग इंग डी भागा तास भाषा च्यारि निर्मा में ॥ हिर पट भारत रे पुदा सरे ॥ रिव पट मास्स्रमाता सरे ॥ देन पदी अम कू निभात निभ डनरे भाभत गानी म तिरान उनव डारे अत हींड रेगे ॥ मारिष भारत हद वे विभात वीडा ॥ उा भागा वीडा पन्या रहे मे तिवास वह हूं ॥ उा मारिष भाषा वहे भाड़े वीनउती रे किंग्ने ॥ २५४॥

ढेन डीने नामे ताल धड़ीण दी मीग्रम दीडा ॥
भने भड़ी मनीत रे निरिर्दास दिन मेलीण खने वनीत ॥
भाभर रेमें निर्म पारी चेरा चेरा नृत्व मुखी मा अने वनीत ॥
भाभर रेमें निर्म दिने विमें मुखी रा यु मन निर्मा मी ॥
७० मुखी नैहै बीनते बने ॥ भड़ी मने हम कू भाभर सने
निर्म दिने विहे शै ॥ रिह्में रिव नृत्व है हिंगु मरे नीदारा है ॥
﴿ हम तू चेमद्व वे भाभ ॥ भमी नी भाभानो डेना यु

त्रीस्टि हेमी ॥ त्रा माठिष हैम वाठ भारे ६० घुन्ही भाउवी उँटी हैठ चभद्री ॥ थड़ी लगे ठठा वगत ॥ ती भिरवस्त्रत उँमी गृवू जे उन मीस्टिट हेजे ॥ माठिष् धैव ताल ठेवव हैठारिष्ण ॥ घरत जेभा ग्राप्टी गृवू वे वात दिस भाउन थिउन भगे घेटा त भवेगा ॥ भाडे वियदात घरेगी ॥ घाटी घरम वात विरा ॥ में भैसे जी जैटी ॥ २५५॥

देन चैंबे माभे तास माजीण यड़ीण ब्रुसारी नेमी (( माजिक त सरी (( दित वेडा मानवा हैठारिणा () माजिक रेति डिलामी (( रेट यड़ीण रूमरा रे हुपवान () 248)

ित योग दे यगाँउ मारी माभे मामि मारी सरैंत ॥
दित्र योग दे ॥ उत्तर हे भारमी भारे ॥ मारिष् सरैंत
वारे ॥ दिद्यूरे मारी यदी रा डिता है मिनेपाई से दे
दित्र मारी यदा है । अगिष्य री भामदानी भिमी ॥
उग भारमी उस भाथ डेमिर्डम ॥ युन्त युन्य कू में
नामराम हे भी नान कू भारियाई ॥ में रेन नामराम्यूना
निनाई दिनि हिरी उग भागे याम हेनी ॥ हैत भारमी
उस में इ से भारिया ॥ सन्त रोभा में यु हैपन मीम नै
मारी ॥ निनाई मान मुस सेरा ने ॥ में उन्ना कू भाम
दे मारिष में सिमदा हे डे सने हिम हे मार न्या है।
यही भा मास मिर वहारी ॥ द्या भाषा

देव नुन् जिनिष्टि राम मने उन्हें से नी नीडी ॥ चूनी दिन दिस रिस्मि ॥ एम जमान नपता रेट्स नीडा ॥ मार्गिष नुने स्व दिस रिस्मि ॥ एम जमान नपता रेट्स नीडा ॥ मार्गिष नुने स्व राजी ॥ मिछु सार्गिष नुन् ने बहु मारि षेठे ॥ पिडा में भन्म नीडी भिजनहाम मार्गिषमा स्व राजी स्व मार्ग मिन में भी में सिव भार ॥ मनम जेमा ने में सिव मार्ग ॥ मनम जेमा ने में सिव निर्मा ॥ उन मार्गि जेसी ॥ पिडा में मुन् मार्गि ने में में मार्गि में में सिव में में में में मार्गि में मारिश ने में में मार्गि मारिश में मारिश मारिश में मारिश मारिश में मारिश में मारिश मार

णमी रम जनाव नेजे त जैरे ॥ भडे ग्रावू भवनात मारिज्य नी िएमीरे इस डिठा भंती रे थारे तरह बैठा मी ॥ भूग िषिरे तीरा वर फिणा। चरत जेण वरम देर वरते॥ भारे वेग भीता रेनिर वे हियी यगीर थाउीम ॥ हैसे माहै भीते दिएमा ॥ भिउम्दे त रावनीर्ड एन बीउँ ॥ २५८॥ मवे भएते हैनी उँरे ॥ भमल मनीट तीर रीरे ४३ भिष्ट किस्ते ॥ विद्यम म माउर में थिउर ख़ुबू वाभ राम ॥ हे मुख्य ॥ ४ : १४ ॥ हे त्याकी ई प्रिपण्डाक मि मरीगा। जे उसे मुठू *घीठ टिविया उिम त्रप्त वी दिविया* ही इडी मेरी ॥ उम वे मगड मिरिया मुड येनी यरिया मुम दिनिडिंग डिंग सेरी ॥ िं अप वे भेंड भूगभंड तथमवान वनी निम वे भमउव पविणा ग्रव युवे में युवा ਹੋਈ ॥ वार वी हिंडिणारी निउ चे महारी भयत वे म स्वेशी। मत तग्तव (जीव) ववडे भाग इति दिविण भागे येम वर्षे यु मेरी 214 ॥ २५६॥ भाडे वाव भागमा मारिष ती रिप्सी हे सी षड़ी भगड़ . राउने ॥ स्वरिह भः य॥ प्रेंब पिड़ा प्रेंबम बे गभ षाठब हु भेग गुगगारी ॥ यह भीउ नीष्ट्र जभाग बाह्य बीह्य नामी जीव रवमत रेज् रिस्परी ॥१॥ मुख भीउं युरी बहु इसि नग्धी ॥ रिय सम डेंग अथरी ॥१॥ मण्डी॥ याद असेदा असि असि येदा रिच् अतु डैब रेमा ॥ मुटि भीडा गर्र डेवी सवराष्ट्री भाषिण पुंड भित्रव रे दियरेमा ॥२॥ भार र बीमें मवर पवीमें बरे मु असा भरारी भे॥ मुल भीउ नी है थिंड या उत्र भूत री है रिह रवमत जीव भी युग्टी में 215 1/3 1/1

देव मार्गिष विशेष है ते में से से में हैं है । हिम हैपन में ने विसे ए तारी ॥ चहें पी पहिसी ॥ विशेष भारता प्रमारि मंडत वे जीन ताम है भीठा ॥ नता ताम वह का विशेष पानी मंड महार तिने ताम है भीठा ॥ नता ताम वह का विशेष पानी मंड महार तिने ताम है की ठा है ॥ ४॥

मंडा री मंडे गुरु री बिय है ॥ यह सिटिमा बेट बीडा त रहे ॥ २६०॥

मारिष पंत्रही पार्रियारी वावू रिवविषित की विधाग दामें पारिष में बाउ महत्व की डे उप है ॥ मीउस है उंव रथारे ॥ मनम जेण

भेग बुवु वसदासा जेणा ॥ यानि द्रिपा युव गास दे नारिस्मा जीनगेर्षिट तरा तर्नेणा ॥ १ [नगरि]॥

उप निश्च पुत्र भाय नहारिया मत वी हाम नयारी।। भाय मंगित ते यत्र एहा यारे यित्र नार मिशा जहार यहार पुत्र हुदै यहारे जभग नुरु यहन् र त वीकारिया।।

भटल म्हरू मग्रव हार डेरा मढल वर समउब पारिमा ॥२॥ <sup>२१७</sup> २६१॥

देन पठार बी नुनू जीन्ते निर साजिन भी ठारिल बीडी कुरु जगभी जेरे ॥ टिम दामडे नीज हैपरेम मिया कू जेण है ॥ में मीमान एय री यात है ॥ मिडनान यामें ठारी टारे ॥ २६२॥

मारिष माउदे नामे तारि चुरीण वी वीडी ॥ निग्न छंट भोद भूदी ते तथा चे ज्वाही वीडी ॥ रेथे नी हिंग भूदी घटने भीन जेटि बैठा है ॥ दृष्टि सम न्यमा हिम पाम है ॥ इमी मरने राषा रेषेने उा दने सिष्ठे ॥ मारिष मुपते दिनि तथा चे निन हैपन भारि चहारे ॥ यन्त्र वीडिते विष्ठे तथा कुंदने भागां पामें सिता है ॥ वैत्र रेटी है ॥ तथा चेर त् त्रष्य पैले भवदारे ॥ वरे व्या मत दवीव री चुनासी वन्तर में ॥ २६३॥

देन भठहे माणिष बाहे न्न रिसी निष्टे ॥ हते गरी गम गिष्ट ए ष्टेपवान न्न गिर्म विस्ता नी हैमी भाग्न इन्ब रे भूग त सनाता ॥ में उन्ब हेने भाष्टिभा ॥ गमा ममहंत्र ते बड़ी धुषी वीडी माणिष री ॥ रिम्मन हिर्नि ॥ में उन्ब मृहि वे रीरान तू भाष्टिभा ॥ रिम्मन तिसी ॥ मनीन तिभागा रिडा ॥ २६४॥

देन तारे भित्र तास पीन भस हे दिनणारी उरे इन्स भने ॥ स्मीन सरे चसे नारे ॥ मुश्य मुभास दन्हे भने जेरि भारे ॥ देन हुनी हानी मरे माणिय एइए दिन लारे ॥ नाउ तू नाग चसे नारे मे ॥ पारी तू सिरु मड़ी एम पुग छपन ने मिभा ॥ हिसे नैंद्र ने नारी ॥ नद मिभ एसदमहिभा हिने भागे ॥ हिम नाउं तरी युंभ पारि रिउने ॥ हाग्ना सेन भारि प्रमुडे ॥ हिन्न मिभ रेप है मिनोनेरे जेरि ने दिमन नारे ॥ माणिय भटन परे पनदे रिसी भारे ॥ दूरे नन मानेते ॥ मंग्र मेश्य जेरि नारी॥ माणिय माणिय चैने जेनत् हैमते माना नगीरा भागार्थ पारी माणिय चैने जेनत् हैमते माना नगीरा मी में रिसी मीम रिडा ॥ ६६५॥

देन माणिष युगर युग्य भी एमरे माभे राष्ठ मने मेंग्रंट बन्बे प्रभ गानि गरे ॥ इनव बम्भ बन्बे रीभार गान गरे ॥ २६७॥ 218

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उ हेम दामडे ब्रुज बीउ है ज़े मिथ दिससे हैत ॥ जिम १ ज़ुनू मिथ बने में ज़ेरे ॥ में मिथी बैमी दमउ है ॥ ज़े तह ज़ामे मिथी तारित है जारे हैति ॥ भड़े ज़िलासी रेबे जी हा गरे जैत । २६८॥

भड़े उर मगीउष धुभत धुभ भी मनीन मसाभउ उरे जी मिन पती से अंदि मिया है मिन युनी है ॥ ब्राम सीउन है ॥ ने मनष्ठ मंगा<sup>र</sup>े भेग भगलमा ਹै ॥ भाडे ग्रन्थ सम्लम है॥ २६६॥ में विम दामने ने रेरिंग ने कैंबे ने परावय नगाउ रे रैत ॥ में रिषे री मन वेरी हउ निष है ॥ गम भार रेम बुंभ तमन देर माउ नुप पुर पीण तानी यन ता देरी से वरिण भड़े ता विसे रे तरित वरे ॥ २७०॥ भगत ने भगीर से विन न्नणरी भगेंडारी रिन्जणरी रेंड पाभेंड में डी टिबे जी वरे ॥२७१॥ तास वी गरिया ॥ रिश्या रात उथ उनत मङ् सङ् गरीकी मिसी मेर ॥ टीउस रिच मारिस मिडी ॥ २७२॥ भाडे स्वारी भारि हे में है। विष्णात विषण मुस बीख्यारी विविषारी ॥ वीवउ मेंडा ॥ वे रूरी त्रांती तासे रिषे वरी तासे तासि वाष्टी ॥ साथ वीष सारिष भी ॥ मामन स्मार मीमा मिला निमा थेपा सारिण 219 112/03 हिमे एमडे मारिष यूनत यूनप मने यरान्य हिषे री इउ गरे॥ भारे मिसी मारित से ट्रें ॥ उन ग्रुव वन मिस डी मिसी री सेमर वनने मिसी नसे ॥ मनरान एमाने ॥ रिए येष में राजाव दियान सीउर में में रिया रामने सीउर में में मिथी त नग्हे ॥ २७४॥

गुनु वर मिथ सिमामी मिटस का उर्दे ॥२७५॥ गुनु वर मिथ भिठा सुगस भिठा भमवन भिठा देंद्रा का उर्दे ॥ २७६॥

गुनु वर मिथ मायु मंगीउ ढवीन तास त भरे ॥ २७७॥ गुनु वर मिथ ड्रिमत तू नासे ॥ तिवरभउर टी टिडा वर्ने ॥ २७८॥

भड़े सम्ब्र में दावुगुव यस द्वारे कैत में ब्रेय डे बस बि यस दारे कैत ॥ ब्रेय बिता मम द्वारी यस द्वीरा ॥ भड़े मम द्व बिता वाम तरी ॥ भड़े वाम बिता हैव तरी सुदीरा ॥ २७६॥

ब्य रिम रामडे जेण में बेमध जे गरे। तारी विमे मिस मुप वरवे मीम त रिउ ॥ में बेससारी रे बरसे मर रूथ मीम रेटने ॥ यन मिथ मिथी नथीतने ॥ मिथ मिरी है में ग्राह्म या उरम मेरे ॥ माथ ग्रंस मारिष मी॥ वाव बीजा में बाव बभाद्य ॥ गुंग बी वगरी वारे यादर 200 11 20011 221 भाय सम्देर घरत बीउम में मन्य किंहे भवउ तारी ॥ भेग घरत मते m डे सूबड है ॥ माथ ग्रंष मारिष मी॥ मीउगुरू त यं रेपरी में उर यं भवारु॥ डिटिण स्विडि त रेहरी निग्र सम्र त वरित सीचार 223 ॥ १८९॥ त्रर रेंग्र गत् वा मिथ जेरा है उर गृत डी रिम त् मभामर है ॥ मास ग्रंस मारीष मी ॥ मीउन् भिष की वरे पृतिपास ॥ मेद्व रह ग्राम मर रिणांस 224 ॥ २८२॥ में वैमें मिंडिन् रैत में पंच रे रामडे रेडा

मभग्रहा है ॥ माथ ग्रंम मगिष मी ॥
मीउन्न मिथ भी भने पृतियग्र ॥
मेदन यह न्न मरा रिणोर भी १८२॥
मे है मे मित्रन है में में पेष रे दामने हेन प्नथान्य मिता भीता है ॥ भने पेष तू मगिष भापनी ममन् दिरिणा दिरि मुखेरि नम है । ॥
भापनी उदी जीन बतारी मिथा तू मिथा ही है ॥ भने निज्ञ मिथी री हैपरेम नेहे ॥
भने चामे नामतीन है मिथा ही भीता ॥ १८५॥
भने चामे नामतीन है मिथा ही भित्र ॥ १८५॥
भने चामे नामतीन है मिथा ही भित्र ॥ १८५॥

चुम् रेपिण निम मिथ थामें ब्रुटी उउँ नारे वे ६० मनषड भने उस नेत्र संखेदे डा हम कू घथमरा ॥ भारी तारी वनती ॥ उत्तथारी कैंदरी ॥ दन 206 तारी वनता ॥ २८६॥

त्रे मिस मजनयानी जेरि वे निजने हे नेभ छजारे में 3747 m 1125011 में मिस युमारि रनउए जैरे भाउं जैन मिसु उस यारे में उत्पाठीभा ॥ [२८८] ने मिषु मनव दिस बीसात से रा बैठे मारियनारे उदा मयर विष्ट्रदासे यां रे भागे जिट बैठे में युग्य उत्रामिक मात्रहा ॥ २८६॥ ने मिस दिश्व गुरू ग्रेष माणिष ती हे याम यूपारि मिथ उछ वनवे फिलाहे ही सेंड वनवे लंदीन वर्षे हनुउग्टे तरी में उतस्परीण 228 ॥२५०॥ वेमयानी टेपी वर्षे में उत्थानीणा ॥ २९१॥ ने मिष वेमयानी छेनेट नधे में उत्रधारीण ॥ यदा मामरा ॥ रहें गैट वसे सम भरित ॥ २९२॥ [में मिस वह मोरीन सेनार नसे में यवा उत्रयाणीमा। 25311<sup>229</sup>] युमारि वार वा चीर जुगरे हुभारे ले नारे में रिलर् 37 47 JM 146811 बमयानी काउरी रे जैस खगरे में उत्रक्षारीण 230 1128411 त्रे मिथ युमारि द्वउारा मार वे ढवव वरे 231 में बार उत्रयामिण <sup>232</sup> ॥२६६॥ में रेमपानी राव रा वयदा 233 मिन पने में उत्रथारीण 1/2801 मेंद्रे चद्रे रंग्वन रिस्स मारे में की उत्तराजीणा ॥२६८॥ 234 मैंदे चदे यूमार भारे में उत्रयातीणा ॥ २६६॥ ने मिय मिय हू युमार भाय वे बुस मारे मे 11 000 11 mellerys में यमारि मिस तू भास वे यग्छे भाय सारि ष्रे में 308 11 JULIUNE 1235 त्रे मिय चेतो तेत भेख भिय रे छतो दिनि मेप्तेतर प्रेठ मारे में उतथारीणा रेखराव ॥ ३०२॥ ने मिय मिया रे वेभ जैरे दिन ठाए थारे भारी वरे में

11 EOE 11 WEGERE ने मिथ मिथ तारीख जामा यमवनी ठठा वने वखपारे में उत्रभागी भा ३०४॥ 236 गृत् वा मिस सेवे पारे मिता वरा युमारि वरे में 11 40E 11 MMETARE त्रे मिथ दामी र तिनेराव दामी विता उत वे ॥ ३०६॥ त्यिटान्त्रप्ट में देगमान रवउत रामी री सप ठेन वेषी भरी ग्राउ वने में 11 00 E 11 Juforte त्रे वेमयानी सव रे वयते 238 जेठे संधे में 11 70E 11 JULY 18 में मिया रा मिरा दिएवा वे 239 में थवा उत्रथा रीणा ॥३०६॥ में मिस कू उस तरह इसा भारे में यवा उत्थातीण 240 ॥ 390 11 में मिस म सीरी 241 रेटे में उत्रसारीण 242 1138811 त्रे मिस री यग तू उस यारे में उत्रयाजीण ॥३१२॥ में भिस री यंग हैउने में यय उत्रयानी भा १३१३॥ 243 में मिस मिस रिण सेम मू उप यारे में उतसारीणा।। 398 // 244 में भिथ भिथ रे रात्रे तु उस यारे खते <sup>245</sup> में 3747Jm 199411 ने निय निय रे थांने भारी भवनी मना सक्र हैंड त मा है में तीच उत्पादिष ने मिस भाग्यी कू या मासी भाग ने मान है है में तीच उत्रभागी भा ३१७॥ ने मिस दामी रासे बसे मिस री उरे टएस 246 म वरम में रेदमराग उम्पारी भा ३१८॥ ने मिथ मिथ मासि गर्स पारी खरारी बने में उत्रसाजीय ॥ ३१८॥ में भवसी मिस दामडे दामी दारिष्ठण तू रुसारे 241 में

तीच उत्रथानी ॥ ३२०॥ में यन्भमासीमा यनरेमी मिथ री नीम री मनेडी त बने में उत्रभातीभा ॥ ३२१॥ में मिनी मागिष भी तू है छे थे भे उत्पारी भा ॥ ३२२॥ में मिस री भाषे यन हैउन यहे बसमारे मारी में १ इटह ॥ जिल्ला में भिष वगर रेर बुसे मटे में उत्पारीण ॥ उप रेरे ॥ ३२४ ॥ ब्नाउ रे उत्थारी रे पद्गीरे ए एस बने में डी 3741 Jm 11 224 11 249 वरिं वरे वर्ष स्थारे तरी में पंक उत्थारीण ॥ ३२६॥ में मिस रू मुकु ए मारिया भारे में उत्पारी भा ॥ ३२७॥ त्रे मिथ उठराव भवाव पिक्के मटे <sup>250</sup> में उत्थारी ए। ॥३२८॥ यित मेरे हैपन पिहे नये उनदान सी में उत्यानीण ॥३१९॥ उन्न तदन रे उद मिनी मारिय रेरे भाप उद सामी भने उने में अग्ध उत्रकारी । । ३३०॥ वारे बैठा मिनी मारिष याम वये में उत्रकारीणा ॥ यने वये ॥ ३३१॥ मिथ र षडी मुचेडी चारीरा है ॥ सम्बर् हे स्विता साम्ही उर्वे में उत्रभागीण ॥ ३३२॥ बारे दिन है 251 जीव पेटि से दिन थंग रिमारा र बने में उत्रभागिण ॥ इइइ॥ यग तू घामी वसे ने उतसाजीण ॥३३४॥ 252 गेरे रेजी वेम त पेरे में भारतमी उत्रभाजीभा ॥ ३३५॥ वेम दिस मीष्ट्रे पहल रेरे में रिल्स् उत्पातील ॥३३६॥ त्र ग्राम प्रमा भी के से प्रमा अपने में प्रमाण प्रम प्रमाण प्रम प्रमाण में मारी वंठ वीडी हिमारे में भासमी उत्पारी भा ॥ ३३८॥ में मारिष भी वा थाठ छवे त्रंगा वरे में उतथारीण ॥३३६॥ रिमारत वनवे निर्म्य छुँचे तंता दुने में उत्रस्तीण ॥ निर्मा मुबी बहु एरीट सुरे 254 ॥३४०॥ में मिस एनगानी भा से मंगीं बने में उतसारी भा ॥ इप्रशा

भी मिस कारी रा मूठा सारे में उत्पारी भा १४२॥ भे मिस भाउं दिन्ता दीमित <sup>255</sup> री थैंनी पदे में उत्रयानीमा ॥ ३४३॥ ।। भिस् रेरिट से मचे में उत्पारी भा ३४४॥ ।। मिथ मैं वे भेर मिथ रिच वावू की कारी विमा जैव ॥ ४४६॥ त्मिटारुर में इंग्ल । वेमयानी चिटे छुटारे में उत्थानीण ॥ ३४६॥ भे रेमपारी रहार कारे में उतथारीण ॥ ३४७॥ में मिय मिय री चुवासी वरे में उत्रयातीला ॥ ३४८॥ माथ र्वास मारिष्ठ मी ॥ ित्रम र्जारन [ रूनार्स ] रूनारें हते दिम र नीउ वर्गिया मन गरारिया १३४६॥ है। मिथु बूद-मा बिस वे मिथु कू सद्भारे में समबग 1104E11 IMPCIARE मिस मिस रिस भरमूषा वर एषया यहारे में उत्थानीणा। प्यारि सारिण भारे मिस रू मुख त वरे में उत्रकारीण ॥३५२॥ मिस भमें सुर ह्यारि हे चैंनी सारे में उत्रसारीण ॥३५३॥ गेरम मिथ इसे सहत भाय भारी रंडी रेटि से भेती हिपन चत्र सदै में यसेंडी उत्रकारीण ॥ ३५४॥ ने रम मिस भेने चर गरी म मिस बरे महे भारत त त्रवत <sup>251</sup> में उत्रसारीमा ॥ ३५५ ॥ में मनमा री भनमी मिरा भाय ह्यीदी बने में 3847 AM 1134811 ने मिथ ए येर जेस्ट राजे वानम दिनाई मारे रमे माजी में या उत्थारीय ॥ ३५७॥ भाभ र्जना चेया यारे मिया तू याजा यहारे में उत्रयाजीमा ॥ 34c 11 ने देरिया भावे में सूती 258 उत्पारीया ॥ ३4६॥ अपरो ब्रुगेर्जिण उत्पारीण ॥ ३६०॥ <sup>259</sup>

मिंथ री दमउ चुगरे में थेउ उत्रथानीण ॥ ३६१॥ गरीष मिय ए तिणस्र २६० यो में जेवारी उत्तयाजीण ॥ इद्देश। मिषु दण्वाव नी वी ढडे घुरुष्टे भवे मा बेसे में भागी 3 1 3 1 1 261 MY 1 3 43 11 261 गुमडी मिथ विगडी यानि जैरे जनराम री वैंडी सारे में रिसर्ी उत्रसाजीमा ॥ ३५४॥ रेज बैडी लयवानी हू रेस वे ता रेरे में उतसाजीला ॥३६५॥ रेग बैडी भरूरम री बुरू वा रात त मारे में सुराय उत्रसग्जीण ॥३६६॥ मुट्ट सी भीम भवराम् असेड तू रेदै में उत्रकारीभा ॥३५०॥ में मिय भयते वर्षी है तग्स वैट-सिस्मम वनवे समत 262 त वरे में येंउ उत्थारीया ॥ इद्दर॥ में मनष्ड री भनमी त भते में उत्पारीण ॥ ३६६॥ 263 में मिस यग्रानी याम मारी में उनामी 264 उत्रसामी 113001 में अवड । भारतिक्ष में से से अपना हि दिया हाम में में इठ स्थे में तीच उतसारीण ॥ ३०२॥ तिवारे भित्रपाग्छीरे तास दवडे में उत्रपारीभा ॥३७३॥ में गृव की मार्च भम्प पत्रे में उत्रमाजीण ॥ ३७४॥ 265 ित्रवार यु युनि दिनि रमें में उत्यारीण ((३७५)) भागराम वीडे बिका युमार दगडारे में उत्यातीभा ॥ ३७६॥ यमार छैरा मिय ष्यु दिसता वरे में उत्यारीण ॥३७७॥ राष्ट्र ये अगर हिंपन प्रीउ त वने में उत्रभागी ॥ ३७८॥ 266 मुनू की पनरामें सुद्धे में उत्रस्परीण 11.308 11 वेमयानी भवासभेषी नाभा थारे में उत्पारीभा ॥ ३८०॥ मुग परिवे में उत्सारीभा ॥ इ८१॥ -मग्भ भारे में उतथाजीभा ॥ इ८२॥ रंडान येयी चैनी तुभास चुनारे में उत्रयाजीण ॥३८३॥ टैयी रासे री यैमी यरे में उत्थारीण ॥ ३८४॥ टेपी रासे रा मुठा भारे में उत्रयानी भा ब्रथ्य। उठव भया वेमा हैपन वर्षे में उत्रंपारीभा ॥ ३८६॥

लैंव भदी सुन्नत मारे में उत्भारीण ॥ इए०॥ भाष्य बीनउत थाठ चरच <sup>267</sup> रिशीच वास बरे में וו ששוב וו מנירניקטוב ोरे घ्रष्ठ गरीय मिय भाग्यी सी मैत त यरे में उत्रयानीया ॥३६९॥ भाष्ठ वसन वेमी यारे में उत्तयाजीभा ॥ ३६०॥ VIII उरे रती मिस रू वेमा दामडे ता रेदे में उतथातील ॥३६९॥ भागित हेंग्स रिस्ने लुवू वर निसर् त वहे में उत्रथानीन ॥३६२॥ भाग ग्रे गरी म मिस भगमी हे 268 त या पर हे हे में उत्रयाजीया ॥ इध्य ॥ मिथ रेवल सन्ने मिथं योती वने में उत्रयानीण ॥ ३९४॥ ो मिस मिस यामे भारिण छैते मूरे सेंडे में उत्रसारीण ॥३६५॥ ो मिस मसेहती बेमरा वसे में ससेह 269 उत्रसातीण ॥३९६॥ । भिष मिथ यामें भारिका सेवे घेवनभी सारे मु तीच 375011 146018 गिमिय यामें भारिका हैने त यह त यह है रहे में वियम उत्यानीया ॥ ३९८॥ मियां रे दिन यूमारि यारा भने नुरुरी बने में 270 उत्रकातीण ॥ इ९६॥ मिस रे त्रेव लो जेरे दिने हैठ मारे में उत्रयाजीय जैवानी 118001 में असा मिय उंदे में विठि ब्रिविट र दिस्त वर स्ट्रे 1180811 त्र ग्राम गुमा वरे त्रिभारा जेषि वे में इसरा ॥४०२॥ माप ग्रेंब मारिष मी॥

ं जम मानीय समानीत युव डेने जीन नाथ नाथु दृउ रूडा जै <sup>271</sup> ॥ ४०३॥

में भिन भारे मिस मू उरे बल ब्रिक्षण देने में उत्थानिक ॥४०४॥ में भिस वान विकार बेमदा रा उभामा रेसे में उतथानिक ॥४०५॥ में मिस मनदन भाजी स्वाभ नारे भाज में उतथानिक ॥४०५॥ उनव री सानदी स्वाभ नारे में उतथानिका ॥४००॥ में भिस राम कारे में उतथानीका ॥४००॥ में भिस राम कारे में उतथानीका ॥४०८॥ वेसयानी उरि वे वड्ड बेटे नसे में उतथानीका ॥४०६॥

बड़ल रे बटेने भाने िष्ठा <sup>275</sup> नस सी हे में उत्रसारीण 1188011 ने नेमायानी र्रंश तारित राजी दुने अयह नैसी सेस्ता सहरहे में उत्पारीण ॥ ४११॥ 276 ग्रीय मिथ भग्यी मैठा वरे भाय धारि भारे में 37419 MY218 बसे मिस भेते-प्भेते भवर माणियमारे ज्वभाररीरे रामी हिर भादत हामी हासे सम्बन ता सेहे में उत्तराजीणा ॥ ४९३॥ त्रे मिस भयते युउ्तू येसी ग्रंस माजिय त्री ता निषाष्टे में उत्थानी भाषिष ने मिस मिस तू बेली ठठेली वर्ने ये उतसारीण ॥४१५॥ ने मिथ मिथ कू सम्बर हिन्चि नारे ग्रायस्था में भती वरे में उत्पारी भ ४१६॥ ने मिथ मिथ मू उठका भावे में उत्रयागीण ॥४१७॥ ने मिस मिस तू रेरे घर वट दिरि ट्टे बेंने जाने ढरे त सिट भारे में उत्रसातीभा ॥ ४१८॥ ने मिस हू मैन भग्नम सारे में उत्रथानी भा ४१६॥ में मिथ रें भवर रेरे बाज वह दिस् त समवावे में 37517 W 182011 में मिथ मिथ कू नुनू वा दामउा थारे उसे बस का भेते में उपनारीण ॥४२१॥ त्रे मिस विमे तू बेये्नत दाम्य यारे में उतसारीण ॥ ४२२। हिंगु भीड हिंद्रव रा घरत है ॥ त्रे निय युमारि लाहू वा वनवे भुछा जो इस से मर से नारे निष्य क करे में सिवामी उत्थानी गा १४२३॥ ने मिस जिर वे एउए वर हिया जैहै में उत्रसाजीण ॥ ४२४॥ में ग्रामिश रेशि वे भमवग रेशै भूग्य रेशै डिम कू भिंड रेटी 278 ॥ मास मिस मारिस मी ॥ मृत्य नं परे स्ट्रभान 279 ॥ ४२५॥ में मिस मारिया टी टरास म बरे में ब्रिउयम उत्थारीया। माथ ग्रेंब में माय ॥

यउ त भेते भाषिणा सममा उरिद्यी हे 280 ॥ ४२६॥ वेमयानी जेरे मजनयानी जेंड-भेट दिन थ्मारि दन उर्हे में उत्रकारीण ॥ ४२७॥ ने मिय भाउ थिउ तु सत्भीय समाम रहे में उत्पारीण॥ माथ लांच मारिष मी ॥ वारे युउ इवार्गि उ में वा साथ ॥ ्रित्र में हड़ीने ड्रथ है डित निष्ध इग्रन पृथ 281 1821 में भारो जुरू थामें मेम्स रेष्टे में उत्थारीण ॥ डिमालीण युग्रसारि ते थिउँ ॥ डठष भारी डिजावी ॥ ४२६॥ ने मिथ जारेर यते िका बदा युमारि द्वार में 3747 m 183011 में बड़ा युमारि खेंवाव रा भरम मासि मुने घामत पारि वे चैंका त वर्गे में उत्थारी भा ॥ ४३१॥ <sup>282</sup> उत्तरी जुवरी ब्रुगिजी हे भमें बड़ा युमारि ब्रुग हे में उत्रभाजीया ॥४३२॥ वद्गा युमारि वववे उवदी डेसे में उत्रयारीण ॥ ४३३॥ ग्रंष मारीय भी थाम घेणह्य थिंठ हेने बैठे में उत्रयारीणा 1838 मघर जेठ यद्व भाय मेंने चत्र बैठे में यदा उत्थाजीभा ॥ ४३४। उठव रे हिस बैठे युमारि अहे दराउगरे में उत्थारीण ॥ उठव ਉठारि रेरा ॥ ४३६॥ यस येंडे किए यूमार दनउग्टे ग्रंस मारिष ती येंसी त उंद रहारे में उत्थारी भा । साथ वांच सारिच ती ॥ येमी यूभेमन वा मात 283 ॥४३७॥ ने मिय विधिण भीरे रे दें हैं है है में मंब हरे में उत्रकारीण ॥४३८॥ में गृहू वर मिथ जैरिर वे मिर्नर हा हे अइने मुन इक लड़े मारी युरी 284 रिया रा मीड हारी युर् दिरवारे किए गार्छ सरे में उत्यागीण ॥४३९॥ मिस यूमारि इन उगरा भायता यग्ने नमे में उत्रकारी भाषा त्रे मिस जाराते यह रे वंभ दिए उठव सुरिशिंडणारी वरे में

अ४४॥ प्यिष्टा में भिष थव र डेर [उवस मू] <sup>285</sup> रेरे में भीच उत्रथारीणा ॥४४२, में सब्भी रा सुन दित्याने में असा मजी नामरा 286 ॥४४३॥ उन्न री गवनी वन्ने उस नज़रे छैटे ॥४४४॥ ने मिस भयते या रे वंसे मिस कु एव वनवे सेरव वन वरे में उत्सारीण ॥४४५॥ में मिय रे वंभ दिन भिय गिर वे विमात बने में 37417111188811 में मिथ मिथ ए चछाटा मुहत वे तारिए त मारे में पवा उत्यारीण ॥ नेभ भावता वटीरा ने ॥ ४४७॥ ने मिस नुतू वा न्वभ म भेते में यवा उत्सारीण ॥४४८॥ 287 ने मबर तास गमा वरे में यवा उत्रयामीण ॥४४६॥ में भंने हैपिन को एंडे सकर मुट ने जेठ त को में यवा भो सा भैठारे तरी याम यता हाले त # 3747 Jm 288 1184011 में मिस मिस् तु हुठी मृथ्उ व्लाष्टे में उत्रया जीणा ॥४४१॥ में विमे मनीन रा गुरु ने हैं रिने उसा ने है रिम रे मणन वीरे उर मपर तर वरे उर वरवम उत्रसरीय ॥४५२॥ ने मिय ग्र रेरी यार यार वासा हिर बरे में अद्भारीभा 289 ॥४५३॥ ने मिस मिस तारिस वीर महाती वरे में वीरा उत्थारीण ॥४५४। में भिर विसे में भारिया हे हे विवड साहे हैं भारिया मिय री इस अवने थारि नारे मिय 1 त रेरे। डिम मित्र मेरी इवउमा म दिच वसुरा ॥ ववम रेहे उ घथमरा ॥ ४५५॥ में मिस यामें दलम तारिस दपयरि मारे उर दिनने सारि वे डिउन सेंदरा ॥ ४५६॥ भाडे मिय असे मिय तू वेंग दिशि विश्व रेरे ॥४५७॥ ने मिथ मिथ मू नाल बुद्द वे स्थ रेरे में उतथा गीआ। ४५८॥ मिथ ए भाभक्त मिथ हिंच तिष्ठे गव्य रे नारे बिका

मिय रे दरे में उत्यानिक ॥ ४५६॥ मिथ लावू वर मिथा दिस तियते रेट छैट दाछा ॥ ते बेस्प उद्देन में त तिमन्नेना रेग दिसे ॥ ४६०॥ रेरे निय मिसी वसत ॥ विश्विर भीडिवनाभी है। सेसा यवभ गिष्ट हैसी इठे यामें ॥ ज़े मिस रा भाषिभा त सेते रेग दिवे में बेमुध उत्रयातीण । निय बी मासम जीर वन भायत ॥ ४६१॥ ने मिथ तू मिथ नाट वे वैर वनाटे सुटारे भनरारे में रैंड नगरा ॥४६२॥ गुरू वे मिथ भौमे तग्स त दरउत नेमुख उत्यारीण ॥४६३॥ में मिस मिस यामें चावनी वनारि वे ता रेरे में अ४४॥ फ्टिड रित प्रमे हिन्रे ॥ १९४॥ मगत बनवे युद्ध नारिष्ट में उत्रक्षाणीण ॥४६५॥ में मिथ रे रिते उस मायउ रिद्या उर माने उस मैंच बरे में पवा उत्रपारी भारति प्रदेश। में मिय मरीव सुप रिसमात अबहा यंत्र रिसमामा उरे ष्रम वीडे बिरा युमारि यारे लबरा याठ वींय माणिव नी ए बने में भरेउ उत्पारीण ॥४६७॥ में मिथ मिथ मुं बुढ़ घरमा बने यन जैसे निषदारे वे रेहे में उत्रसारीण ॥ ४६८॥ में मिथ ए वावम डेर्स में बेयद उत्रदारीण ॥४६६॥ 290 में मिय मेदव एं भायम दिनि इवाइ ये मारे ॥ सिय दिनि सतम्ब रिदे उर प्रवस डी बवे ॥ भारे मिस ए डासु डी वरे ॥४७०॥ में मिस राहि भंदिन जैन घाउन जैन संदा बने से ख़रू य चैव उत्रभात्रीण ॥४७१॥ में <u>ग</u>ृ वर मिस ਹੋ वे समसे 291 तू आसे वसभा पद में उत्रस्माने भा ४७२॥

वृत् वर मिस हिमारात वनवे वेमा तु एस तारित हत्तवे 292

में उत्थारा भारण्या।

निसे मिया भीम रिडे जैस्त मियी हैपरे में मेजीर नांत्र मग्रह ॥ रीस मग्रह ॥ ४७४॥ भीत रेख वे धेर दिर <sup>293</sup> वारे बैठे में उत्पारीण ॥ पिमान वनवे उस त रोहे में उत्रसारीण ॥ ४७५॥ मस रे वेरे हैपन वारे बैठे में उत्पातीण ॥४७६॥ वह सारि डे गउरी प्रेंग यदे में उत्रथारीण ॥४७७॥ यग स्तरी सदे ग3ी में उत्रयारीण ॥४७८॥ विवय मिथ उद्या मुकराम तू यूमारि भाषे इस त सहारे 294 में उत्पातिका ॥ ४७९॥ ने निय भिय स्वार वीव मंगिर वरे में उत्रयानीण ॥ ४८०॥ ने भिष मिष रे वंभ दिर इसी सप्टे 295 रसासी भारे में 3747 ml 44911 में भिष बेडा रा रती वेमी यारे <sup>296</sup> में उत्रकारीणा ॥ ४८२॥ ने निध सम्बर यद्वरे छवन ववरे सिध ह देवे में 37577 M TWECOSTE में मिस दिसे मिस ए यह डिंग बरे में उत्रस्परीण (भेंउ सास्) में उर्छ पिरीमा से मित्र जिमारी त ठारे नरीस 201 118681 में विवान की मैनड त कारे में जरेड उतका रीजा ॥४८५॥ में मिस मू बबूव नेड़ी रेसे से उतसाजीण ॥ ४८६॥ ने मिय भाग मेमान टी बाट दिनि दनडे भड़े घाने सुवडा यराष्ट्रे <sup>298</sup> में बुद्धा उत्रयाजीणा <sup>299</sup> ॥ ४८७॥ येष राज्यात युगर युग्य रा जै॥ दिने यूरे दिने भाट्य ममुंद्र है ॥ भारत में डी रा नेउ बने ख़बे ता सनी रे 300 ॥ ४८८॥ ने मिस सुमा ने हैं नासभी ने हैं नित्र जनराम बनारे उन्ना ने है भिया हे उद्य र युगारे में उरदारीणा ॥ ४८६॥ में मिस वडीन भिरि उस छारे में उत्तयारी आ ॥ ४६०॥ में मिस मदस तुस बेत भारत वटे में उत्रूमणीभा ॥४९१॥ 301 में मिस ज़्म माणिष भी पेसी से वे भरत तथे पारि वे॥ त यहे त यहारे में यवा उत्रयातीण ॥ ४६२॥

त्रे मिथ ग्रंब मारिय ती अवह येवी बेजरव री नागा वसे में उत्थारीमा ॥ ४६३॥ में तन्नी दिस युममास उरे मिस त मारे में उत्पातीण ॥४६४ ने मिय मिय कू युमारि भाय ने देन देन हैं हैती भने मेडे में उपयोगिया मिर्टिया। मिथ युमारि यारहासे भाय कू गुरू यीग क नारे। द्रीडणारी खुवू वी माटे॥ ४६६॥ मिस माये हरासा 300 मार में हाउन प्र माड़े 303 ॥ ४६०॥ वाव वा मिष भाववा मारे प्रमिमां भारे भाषरा वी उत में उत्त में मारिष जी येथी यद्वरे यया रेव त मारे में उत्रथारीण ॥ ४६८॥ ने मिय मिया कू यूग्यहा कू प्रमारि भाये उ भने पिहे त बने ॥ रिवरे रेते यंगाउ मारे ॥ मिथा तू पिहे मगरे उ उत्यानीभा अप ॥ ४९६॥ में मार वे मिथ सादर मार में उत्रथा मीभा 305 11400 11 मयर याठ जेरे बीवउत रिच बेरी मिय भारिण इवाइ भारि यारे मुभार वादारे में यदा उत्पारी भा 1140811 ने स्मा नाभण दिनि बेर मारे में यवा उत्रपानीण ॥ 40२॥ वार वार मिथ मेर नारे मिथा तास यानि मेरवा रे भारे ग्न मदारि करे <sup>306</sup> ॥ 403 ॥ मिथ गुरु वा रागगुरु वा माप वनरा नो ॥ 408॥ में रीपव त ठेरा वनम नेरे पथा वयका ग्रारि वे वरे। मुर्र ही दूव उष रा बुमा भावे में उत्थातीण ॥ 404॥ मिथरी तु सेंडे री यागुर रेरे 307 में उत्रथारीण ॥ 404॥ भारे युमारि कु तिवारव बवे में उत्रयानीभा ॥ मार्थ ग्रेष मारिष मी ॥ ॥ ४०१॥ हुए न्यापा तम्बुह ह महार वृत्ता गुरू वा मिथ येथी वंष मारिष त्री उन षाटी यदि सरी माये।। में भारे पित्र हरिंग में उत्पारीभा।। 404।।

मुठे पुमारि डेट 309 वरे में उत्थारीण ॥ येवी ग्रंम मारिष

त्री यित्र वे रितमाती रिटींच वसु वसे में उत्रसारीण ॥ 40 ६॥ वेस येरि उवे वनते णासे ॥ मुवारे णासे में उत्रसारीण ॥ 420 ॥ यटी रिष्ठस्ट दासा येरि वे मुवारे णासे में उत्रसारीण ॥ 49 १॥ विश्व वर्गीत स्वस्ते मासी मास हा तारे में उत्रसारीण ॥ 49 २॥ विस्थ निस कू एका रेरे व्याग्वना पारे में उत्रसारीण वा ॥ 42 ३॥ सुनु हैयन पाटी वनरा रिम्स राही में वो ता रिप्रमारे में

जिस्माजी भाग ॥ 498॥ में मिस भाग में भारे भारे भिस कू उंग से सम स्वारे में

उत्रभागीण ॥ 494 ॥ मुनन ऐरडे कू त्रभमवान त वने <sup>313</sup> में उत्रभागीण ॥ माथ पारिमागी १० ॥

तमे मुनम मुनमे ॥ तमे चंट् चंरे 314 ॥ 48६॥ में भिष ब्रुख वर्षे में उत्रथातीण ॥ पे१७॥ 315 तंगी वेमी दिने नदास थरे में उत्रयाजीण ॥ 49८॥ तेमी बेमी बागान दिस बैठे में उत्याजीण ॥ 49 ९॥ 316 तेनी वेमी भावना द्वे में उत्रयाजीया ॥ ४२०॥ तंनी बेमी डेमत बने में उत्तथारीण ॥ 422॥ राज्ञी हास ड्रीभउ थामें वेम रियारे में उत्रयाजीण ॥ ४२२॥ मेप्नित सुणात तु दृटा भावे 317 में उत्रथारीण॥४२३॥ वेस मुद्र मग्र संस्व त सुरे में उत्रथारीण ॥ ४२४॥ अंह इनिमंडी दिनि वेस सेल बैठे में उत्पारीण ॥ 424॥ 319 वेम त दग्छ भाये में उत्रयारीण ॥ ४२६॥ वेमा दिसि तीष्ठे येत स्वव त रहे में उत्रया नीण ॥ 420॥ वेमा कू गंरा उम्र सारे में उत्रयाजीया ॥ ४२८॥ वावू के बीवउर दिनेच उठ वास बने में उत्रभंगी ॥ 42 ६॥ 320 मिथ से है भाग वे येन नगारे िषणर्षी तारिए में 3747 Jm 11 430 11

उत्थानामा ॥ ४३०॥ में मिस लाहू वा लाहू वे मिस रा भाग बेल वर्ने में उत्थानीमा ॥ ४३१॥ में रृष्टि मिस भाषम दिनि रहदत ॥ मिस भन्ने वनत रेंदै त संतत रेट्ट उत्थारीण ॥ ४३२॥

तो ज्ञा निथ निथ हे बरे हैपन चले तरी में उत्थारीण ॥४३॥

तो निथ णापहे नातू बी गार बने में थवा उत्थारीणा ॥४३८॥

तिम निथ हे बैठ तथनी त रेट्ट डिम तास इन्डता

तरी ॥ ४३५॥

त्रिम मिंडनातू वे बीडे हैपनि मानी बहे में उत्थारीणा ॥ मांथ

नी मिंडनातू वे बीडे हैपनि मानी बहे में उत्थारीणा ॥ मांथ

नी मारीम भी ॥

भाग मिंड बीणा मंड में उ

गर्ने माथ ॥ मन विक युग यार दिष विक तारी 324 ॥ पूरेमी मिस कूँ भीग इसी िषमगभ कु नग्गा भमसात हामी दिश्व वन रेरे तरी में उत्यारीण ॥ ४३६॥ गुरु वे मिथ मुचे उ मीयत ॥ ठव हैचवे बेथी रहेयद र दिमार तरी बरता ॥ यंद्र रावु वा द्येवा ॥ सभा यारि वे ॥ भरे भगवउ यटेनी ॥ दाये दिस भेरा चेना मभादर है ॥ गुरू दे निष मुचे 31 तास दग्उत्र वो 325 ॥ 43.0 ॥ एवषाव मिथा रे तावो दिस भाषी रा माभा ग्रंम मारिष मी येषी त यहे ॥ मुहे मरी ॥ ४३८॥ भारी भारी भारी भारी पदे यहे 326 मिय मिया दिन बैठ वे ॥ 43 ६॥ ते निस वारे बैठा <sup>321</sup> गरु वरे में उतसारीणा ॥ 480 ॥ उठव मंदी दमउ मीग्री ने भारि से वि में मिय सारे में उत्पानीण ॥४४१॥ पगदी रागे यूमारि यारे में उत्रपारीण ॥ ५४२॥ षमें कू थारी मुठे मास ठंडा बने में उत्थारीण ॥ 483॥ मिया दिस बैठ वे बेभिनारा ब्रिके में उत्रथानीण॥ माथ

र्म्य मारिष ती ॥ भूग चसे मु भने भानीओं 328 ॥

ਹੋਰ माथ ॥ ने वे रवगिर मगुउग मेंसे का धु यह माग्वी <sup>329</sup> ॥488॥ ਹੋਰ ने वेरी मिणरमी ਹੋहै मिथा क बाहै में बी उप मुस्पि घथमारे राजी में डी उर्तथाजीण ॥ 484॥ 330

में व्विजितीरे उर्तथाजीरे डेथी संपट चेंच बाव मुणावी री

जिमारित वर्ते में डी उर्तथाजीणा ॥ 484॥

निभ जिर वे विरिष्ण माने थें ती मेर्सी रवेडे में थवा

उर्तथाजीणा ॥ 480॥

उर्तथाजीणा ॥ 480॥

उर्तथाजीणा ॥ 480॥

उर्तथाजीणा ॥ 480॥

उर्तथाजी मां वर्षे में में व्यव मारित्र ती रिरीच

वर्षा अभी मिंथी वर्षे में में व्यव मारित्र ती रिरीच

वर्षा वीता जै । रिम मंगाव रा विरिश्ण भीमें जै ।

में वेर बमेवा पवरेमी राजे ॥ मां भावां मारित्र ती ॥

में वेरिस विरिक्ती जैमे मंगावा 333॥

उन मांथा॥

उन भारों जा रेवरमी स्वास्त में मांवा 334॥ 48८॥

वर्ष भारों जा रेवरमी स्वास्त में मांवा 334॥ 48८॥

ष्टेरि नुवड़ा भड़े वरिजा भड़े उत्थारा गुरू वे मिय रू भाषिण रेत ॥ मेरव रू मंमानी रू तरी वरिणा ॥ ५४६॥

में मुन की नियरी गैरे नाम रिमार रेगी र वने। मुनम रे महम्प रेगी र रेरे नाम र यारेरे। माम भी मुनम थिया है। माम भी मिला मिला निया है। माम भी मिला मिला नियरी में की जिर के र एमार प्यारे र यहारि। पप१। जार वी मियरी भाग भागी रहा महाम र साथ र साथ । जार की मियरी भाग भागी रहा भाग वित्या में की । पप३। जार की मियरी माप भागी रहा भाग वित्या में या प्रवाण की मियरी मां मार्ग येथी प्रवाण मियरी जार मार्ग से । जार की से अप प्रवाण से । जी उप जार हा। मार्ग की मिला की ने सम राम री है। पप४। जार की से । पप४। जार की से । प्रवाण से से प्रवाण से में नियरी प्रवाण से में नियरी है। पप४। जार की भागी प्रवाण से में से प्रवाण से में नियरी। मार्ग की । मुनी राणि मार्ग कि प्रवाण से में से प्रवाण से । प्रवाण से विवाण से । प्रवाण से । प्रवाण

मारे ॥ ਹੋਰ मंड पिडा डारी पुत्र वित मारे ॥ 44६॥ उन्डे तू भियी र हियरेम वरे॥ वहातुमा रे युम्प तानी रे युनीर उमत ॥ मियदी र हैयरेम हैतातू वारी छगर है ॥ 440॥ गुर की ने मिसरी ने हैं में टबर रास भराषी मिस रू युमारि ग्रहा ह्यारे ॥ ४४८॥ लानु की मिथली सघर घाटी नानु की केंठ करे। पनभमा ले रे द्वीं अम टेवट मारे॥ ४४९॥ पक्षी रिचे युटी मुत्र रिचे हसी भाटी वीदा रटी मा म उग्ही दिचे तुभास चारत तया मवउ वात् वे तिभउ हे है ॥ 4६०॥ मार की मियरी चैं के दिसे युमार सी उठ दिसे सठ भारे री कुरू वे भग्य रेटे ॥ यग्भमासे ॥ भग्यी मिथ रू॥ गृ व यस है॥ साथ म्य मार्ग मारिय ती॥ मिंडिन्न दियंडे न्निम्स सुध यारि 338 ॥ 4६१॥ ग्रावृत्री मिथली मचेउ वने ॥ मवीव टी विवसा परित्र वसे ॥ मैंच नाम भिगउया वनवे 339 ॥ उँवे दिच णोटा ग्रासी युमारी यवासी गास त वरे ॥ स्वा यष्टिमें मेर ॥ ४६२॥ गृवू वी मिथली यूमारीर वनरी तव मुख्वरी पिंडे युनवरी उस स्पि लप्टे ॥ मालवा मालवी हैरात गर्रे मिर त के भेरे यूमारि डेजी रैएम री मंबा वसे ॥ 4६३॥ त्रु वी मिथली यंत्री मेसी मिणाये त त्राष्टे ॥ जाती रेहे सेरे मेरी यंत्री मेरी 1146811 भायते मुभावस रेहे उ जानी यवसमासे रेहे ॥ ठठा भमवरी मिठली त रेरे ॥ गारै उं मुंड मीउ मुग्न योजीया। मेरे बेह र भाये ॥ 4६५॥ गुरू की मियुरी रिमारात भयरा यंत्र रिमाराता वित वे ग्रामें इ यदे ॥ मेर भदी म भेरे ॥ मिरण गृर् व सरे।। वाव विमा उठउ विमा मित मगिउ विमा उन्न त्राने अव ॥४६६॥ पित्रम् उसे ॥ मित्र यवम् उसे ॥ त्रैमे ग्रीम माणिय मी

IV

ित ममे पुनत पुन्य म्लत वीडा मी ॥ में मि घनम तू मेन भेन मुमात निमी ॥ में मुमाती वा हाया पहेना ॥ मड़े पन्पव निशा ॥ पन में दिवान में मामती दिनि जी ने भार्रा ॥ में दिवान विभा मड़ मारिड मड़े रनत थंम हिन पिम मातने ॥ मरोहा डी भार के वे मेरे चंने थंम दिनि यम मातने ॥ में भीरिमा पामें मेरे वनभ निमीत ॥ रेसत तू मिस वनभ ठना चेन वीवता हे ॥ रेसत तू मिस वनभ मरोहा रे <sup>343</sup> ॥ रेसत तू मिस वनभ मावा हे <sup>344</sup> ॥ पंत्र मेरा री हनउत पंत्र पीनिश्रे ॥ दिसहाम्याडी <sup>345</sup> ॥ भविव्यत्त मतानी ॥ प्रेनी ॥ तिरंव रुमर मिस निमाती स्परात ॥ निस्ता प्रेनी ॥ भेमे रेसत तू मिस निमाती स्परात ॥ निस्ता थे मामी ॥ मुमाती दिवान रा मूक ने ॥ मिस नुन वे स्विड्यत जी में मानि ॥ नेमता । नेसा नेसा पहिमी ॥ मास न्या माणिम भी ॥

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हिर ममें मंगउ १७५६ मेस्र हमाभी र जैरि बीडिण॥
वित जेण तवीव हु महान वन ॥ मंगडा यन हू रुन
मात ॥ में तवीव हु हे हाइ वे वहत बेरिज़ण ॥ मी हाजगुन
पुनत पुनय र ने मंगडा यन हू रुन मात ॥ में वहत
मुट वे मनव मंगडा रुन निर्मण ॥ दिव मिंथ निर्म
मिंथ चु ने विता ने मन रुन निर्मण में दिव मिंथ निर्मण में विता
संवा सही मंगि मन रुन विता जेन यन रुन गरि मिंथ में विता
मंगिड हि है ॥ डिम हू वनत जेण ॥ मिथा ने मिथी नयही
जरी उ यिन नाजू ॥ डित विजा नो मने पाउमाण नी
में यिन री मन भाम ह्वारि वे निजा जा ॥ यन वीव मिथी
गिरी है ॥ वसत जेण डेनी मिथी यन नी निजमी ॥
दि में त नोनी ॥ हु है यिन्या नेण यानमी भने भाम
वनते हैत मिथी हि सहा है महाज डे मत्रमु वे ॥ समान
निर्मा ॥ हु न निर्मा है सहाज डे मत्रमु वे ॥ समान

में हेरे बंभ भेष्ठ तरी भी वनता ॥ हिसे मारिन छुव नाहे रैत ॥ 40१ ॥ इस मैठ मुट मुट ही चान वनती भा रैति ॥ रेभ रेभ वे नितडी भा ॥ भामा भारा नष्टिमा ॥ मा नष्टिमा पंम दिन पाटी भे उगम्प रेहे ॥ मे नष्टिमा त पाटी भे उग उरे मिथ यान तू उन मार ॥ पी भा युरा भास पत रा मेर हैपम महेरे ॥ उरिट नष्टि हिन मेरू तरी ॥ उग हैम तू देन हिन भा अभ ॥ 40२॥

िउम हेरो, भाभे वित्पास भड़े दीहात माणिष छैंए।।
भड़े पवभ छंए सनात्रेणी।। भड़े वैव मिथा छेंए।। एवषावी
धवषावी भंख।। बारी हैंता मिथा उंग मिस मंबार वासवे
भवराम वीडी मंग्ने पाउमाए।। बगत रेमा है में मेव
विद्या ।। गावीष तराम विद्येत हिन ष्ट्रप त वर्गे में।। श्रम
चसी नारोगी।। ष्ट्रम वारी डा मिसी बीवू विराती है।। मा
भिसी वारी डा तवार रा भिष्वावी रेमा।। 403।।

म्बर रेण भाभा ती निष सुनीए री मुप त बरेनी॥ ते रिले रे मिष रेतने भाषिती पंष दिव वने पिसे डिता री मप तामी ॥ 408॥

में भेमैं डी थंस दिन जैतनो ॥ में सब्हें निजरें घणी दनउतनो ॥ में मर गम थंब तु जैमी उर समीदनी संब दिन जैमत ॥ उर एट डी बैटी मैं ॥ 404॥

रिस्त मारिष वंर भड़े हैं मिथ भावराम बीडी ॥ मचे याडिमार में ईर में विशेष से पैरे रैमित हैर बी किंतरे सी युवी दिस रैमित ॥ ५७६॥

म्पत रेण रिस्त ती किंतिहाण हिंचे ते रैति में उर भमांचे तारिक रैत ॥ भाडे थिंके डी यंम हिन्च रेमित ॥ भाडे बहु तस भीरका तू भिक्त वे सुवाडि रेरि वारे रैति <sup>350</sup> ॥ भाडे बुक मेंद्रे भारिकी यंम हिच डी रेमत ॥ 400॥

भड़े ने उष्ठि रे मिय उम्म में रैंड मिय री यूरी मारि नाम क्रमतो ॥ भड़े रैंड मिय सम्ते यी रिस हस मामने ॥ 40८॥

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में मालीस ने मैसे देंडे मुना धर्मण सी ब्रह्म दिस्वि रैड भारि मतमे में 11 भाडे यनमनाभ भाने 11 स्त्री विष्ठ भाने में 11 वेंसी मेर्ब कू डी भानस है 11 स्त्री ब्राभेट से मेर्ब हैत 11 स्त्री तरी बनेबनी ब्राभेत सी बनरे 11 रैड बीम मार्म्बण रोण है 11 में स्त्री से यन दिस दिनादी 1140811

मेरी हैं जारे ब्रु हिसे भारे ॥ वेंटी सेहबे ग्रांग ताल असवनी वनरा है ॥ ६० भाराबे जारहा हे हैं जाराने मे ॥ में विस्ता नी एतवामा यामें समाथ रिहारि स्थारे ॥ 400॥

में निम ए गान गैरा है जिस रे गान दिन रैंड दूद नारे गैन ॥ में गिन रे रैंड भूपी मिथ भारियी पंस दिन दृद्धि गामने ॥ डिना थामें मेरा टिग्ड डाई डनित एरिणा गींउ सम्बर् में डासे यग्म रैन ॥ में एवं गिर गामन ॥ 468॥

ि जयते मुछाद जयित हैउ वरम वरमित ॥ विजा रामा विजा र्वेच ॥ ४८२॥

हिव सभे पनभ छेर अमात्र ही इंग्मत ख़ुनू वा डिस ते शेत्र डी वी डी ॥ मी सभे पाडिसाग जासा डा वी ग्रहाम अमी ॥ जामी ख़ुनू की जाम अपते गा ॥ जाम डानी रात है ॥ भामी की वनी रे विसे मारी रे ॥ जामा डा साम स्मा पिसे श्रित सारिका गिरामा है ॥ यह ॥

मकत जेण पवस चंरा डमांडे डी जावू वे थाव जेरे। अंडे वो जेरे तेता अंडे रिपष्ट डेका रवसा महा मिड्टी शाडिमांडी वे वेस भारिषण मी। रीहाती ववरा। डु किया में मं चाचे उगरे अंडे रीहाता मारिष जावू डेला स्टारव रे में तारिष्ठ ति हो रोहे रीहाता। मारिष जावू डेला स्टारव रे में तारिष्ठ किये। डमी जावू वे जे। डमा विसे माहा है। डमा तृ शिंडे। डमी जावू वे जे। उमा विसे माहा है। उमा तृ शिंडे यह सिता जे माता ताडी। इस्हरी याही सर्वायू तू डेकरा है। यह सिता ताडी सर्वायू तू डेकरा है। यह स्टीण ताडी सर्वायू है सर्वायू है। यह स्टीण ताडी स्टीण ताडी सर्वायू है। यह स्टीण ताडी स्टीण ताडी स्टीण ताडी सर्वायू है। यह स्टीण ताडी स्टीण ताडी सर्वायू है। यह स्टीण ताडी स्टीण ताडी स्टीण ताडी स्टीण ताडी स्टीण ताडी सर्वायू है। यह स्टीण ताडी सर्वायू है। यह स्टीण ताडी स्टीण ताडी स्टीण ताडी स्टीण ताडी स्टीण ताडी स्टीण ताडी सर्वायू है। यह स्टीण ताडी स्टीण ताडी

उन्माने ॥ इमी मुन्ने थन जी मेंभे हो जेरे थरे ॥ इमी इिंड मार्ष उन्माने थर्ष ॥ धारे थरिने ॥ थद्भर म सीउन इते ॥ पन्भ ग्रेर भक्षा टेनिया ॥ भे स्था मिथा जनम सहस्रा याम खेरेंडा मी ॥ ४८५॥

बन्त रेण चैंप मिथा वागित छिणाई ॥ भै वागड़ कै फारिका ॥ मरी पारि भिक्षी ॥ यग्भ चेंच भेग रै ॥ मे यग्भ चेंच तु भेतेगा छमरा उसा रेसेना ॥ यए६॥

ने सिंध कू राग्मा हुए यु यु उनि वनकी ॥ ने भग्छ-भनी भिन्न मुद्यी सिंध जैसक ॥ में क हुसकतो ॥ भन्ने ने निर्ध रे सिंध जैसक में मन्ध दिवान संभगिति जैसक । हिक कू यु जी व ने हुए कि क जैसी ॥ ने याय है में हुका यामें जैसी ॥ यह ॥॥

भाउं िष्टम ने जी बहु सबने <sup>351</sup> से स्त्र ॥ में पिहे उनक तर्राष्ठ मुप बन्ने सीस रेत्रने ॥ यन भेने बिरे रिन्से सनीर नेस्त्र ॥ 455॥

रिव समें इसे बैगद सागिष हूं पिहणा। सभी मंगल दिन ।। समा १७६० ।। साथी हे मेसे हिपा। हामान सना गिरा मी ।। भे हाम नैपा मिथा पाम बंदें साथ है मने पादिमांग नान मारिष्मा है नाने हें है सिव हूं देने हो है जो रिव भी त निभा ।। रिश्च पंद्य विम हे भामने नो गा पंद्य हा त निभा ।। रिश्च पंद्य विम हे भामने नो ।। उनवा पंद्य तास भद्ध हो है ।। उनवा पंद्य तास भद्ध हो ।। उनवा निभा विशे मंग हो हो तो ।। संग हो निभा विशे मंग हो हो तो ।। संग हो निभा विशे मंग हो हो तो ।। संग हो हो हो तो ।। सह ।।

म्मत रेण उत्प्रिण भने मंत्री तरी मी उथही। एमा तारिभण रा ममत मी। िर में हामडे समेंर बरे॥ में ियड़े भागे भागता मुनू त महित ॥ मुन्भारी मनम्ड यास्त्रमे री।। भडे भामना मुनू वे समर रा॥ भडे हासी 353 भामस यन्य ॥ भडे िड्डीण यामें मात्र सनदारे जैति॥ षष्ठ डगरडी ए जैमी ॥ भड़े ज़ैन डनवा रा डिंग इडिमा है॥ दिल् चेरा डेमाना हैन से इडाना ॥ 46०॥

भाडे उनका हूँ भायते राष्ट्रित राष्ट्रानो ॥ भाडे थंद्र दिचि युगउत मिथा मभाउपानी थैरे जैसत ॥ में ज़य नसत्रने ॥ पर्धा ॥

37 उसे भारिषण वाठीय तिरूपत ६२ घंए वरे थैर रेमी ॥ भड़े वेंट रेमी ॥ भड़े ६२ द्वासुमा वेरदा रेमी ॥ निम तु गुरुभाषी रिडी रे ॥ 4९२॥

म्बर रेणा भारतमा ६२ स्ट्राम मीमा री वर्षेट ॥ मिरा वृत् हू वृत्व माउा वृत्व दी माडि रेटि फियरे॥ मनवड दिचि वृत्व ॥ टिव मीरा माय रेमी ॥ माडे मदाने दीडिण तिष्ठ दित भड़े ते भजीते पिंडे पुतार रेमी ॥ परेंड्र॥

में नाटीए नै मानिष धुंनत युवध नी ॥ मंभाउ १७६२ <sup>354</sup> ॥ हैमाथ रे भनीते हिन्न भाजी अग्य बैनानी तू भिक्र ने हम ताल बहु नोमें नाला नीति भा भागे हम री हिन् नाटे ॥ यह माटीए ने ने यंप हिन्हि ष्रा रेने हम तू सदा नाती ॥ भागे लानू नाटे ॥ ५९४॥

में मुप डी ड्रन्स तास जैतने॥ भर्ड मरः सुध मीम डेट न्रुट्ट दी सन्नरः है॥ भर्ड थंष डी वर्नेप वर्ने वीउर है॥ भर्ड व्येप स्मितः सम्बर्ध तरी यवदी है॥ में व्येप डी मरा थंष दिन नरेना॥ 4६4॥

च्छू वे मिस मिसी डी के मिडमों ॥ रेग वेम मिमानी मिसी री भैमि ॥ सग्न म्छू वर्ग में ॥ रेग यम यंद्य हुग्जम् वी उम्में ॥ रीरम्नी मिस के मिड़े ॥ भारे सवरे डी मिसी कैमिन स्मिरिवी नम बन्ममा ॥ डिमा रिने स्नीर में जैसम में डी सिसी कैसमा ॥ यन स्नीर सेने भैम ॥ स्मिरिवी स्मा नेसमा ॥ पर स्नीर सेने भैम ॥

उीवय री भाष्ठ उँदी पंय रा वाम चसमी ॥ भागे । षङा विद्रारा थे मामी ॥ यव सारिवी पंय दिच डी भैमे सवीर जैमीत॥रेसत तू सैसे विवडी तिसारे ॥

माथ ग्रंम माणिष ती ॥

तित्र पट णंटीन षणन म्हा है डे डले मंगान ॥

तित्र तेतृ लगा नष मेडी टेसटे टीरान 355 ॥ ५६०॥

में डिम माथे डी इनव हुम रेत्रने ॥ मिस तू ॥ में मिम
रे मीम रेटे वनवे इनवा रा बल सीट निर्मा ॥ रिव इनव भौमा नेहें गा ने इनवा रीमा नदा पट नारेगा ॥ रिवे रिव भगीर भैमा निमी नडी मडी मड बनम हे हैं भगीते निमी ॥ डिम की पीढ़े प्या उवदा निर्मा ॥

माणिष रे बनत भूमा 356 रेही राम पिडा ते रीचान बनवे रेन नारित भासी है। भाने नानु माटे ॥ ५६८॥

रित्र सभै मिथ पंत्त सै नुपद्मा उत्तथाण र रित्रठा वनते ग्रान से नारे ॥ नानी व निद्धान रिष्ठ प्रमा चीर तू वच्त वनी रे ते निव्याने तथा बने ॥ वचत रेणा बेरे वपसे रैत ॥ ती नानी व निद्धान उत्तथाण रे रिवरे जैरे रैति ॥ वचत रेण नानी व निद्धा तू वपते <sup>351</sup> त्रेत्ते वन रेरे ॥ युमारि वने ॥ 488 ॥

में माणिष युगर युग्ध वानी या ही वीन व्रम्त ॥ यंद्र तर भाष्ट्रिंग मुभारी चत्रेवा उा हेंग वासा सबे वीज नामत ॥ साथ व्यंद्र साणिष नी ॥

गत भग्छ वृथ जाउ ज़ैक्त येंने ठवा।। रित्री ठवी नवा ठिवाण विमे त वसी छन <sup>358</sup> ॥६००॥ रिट्र येंने भगरिवी येंच दिच जेमत ॥ माथ व्यंच मागिक जी ॥

वाम व्ययदे वृथ वयदे प्रत वयदे वृष्ठ वाव भेडा 359 ॥ वाम भीमा जेमी ॥

मंगेंड श्रिभण इस्त्रं हिंचे तात्रव श्रित जीव संग त चात्रते <sup>360</sup> ॥

में राम दिस हेर हमडू रिमित ॥ साथ खंब सारिष ती ॥ बुक्ते सत वयट त वी ते ॥ भंड सेथा डेने तीण थर छीते <sup>361</sup> ॥६०१॥
में नात रा ते मनत रिश्णा है यंस तू तराहे भिरन
है तराहे विश्वा है। तो मिथी नहें नात दिन है। भिरन है।
भान ते मिथी नारे डा वरीहा। में नात दिन मिथी
निर्मा भाषी है स्वा नहां नारे नी ॥६०२॥
नात डे हैपनंड तन्य ॥ ते नात वा निरम भयरः
मिथती हैसी भाषा निरम नी नात दिन हैरानडा।।
नात राहिन दे समा वी मारी दिन मुनाड।।
मारिण दिन हैतस्रा ही।।
नेमी में भारे समम वी मारी हैमा वनी
निर्मा दे साम वी मारी हैमा वनी।
निर्मा दे साम वी मारी हैमा वनी।

रित्रे मभे प्रथम ग्रंट समामग्री भड़े वैंग मिया गरे रित भगराम बीडी ॥ ती मरे यगीडमार ॥ डेग मरते मै जो मन्या दिस भे ए॥ भाडे साममा भेनी रेर मै॥ त्रेभ है ॥ जुनु सम्समा है 364 ॥ भाउं मासे बनम सीउ में में भमा राय मू ठाउव येष हिच रिडी है। हा भड़े पंस रे उठवा रा सम सिरिण है ॥ जैभ की उन है हरे वीउ में यंय राभड़े ॥ में गरीय किरामि डेने रिस निष्णा याय दीव विगतने ॥६०४ 365 ॥ म्म जैरिणा त्रिये मन्यं रिवउ जैमी डिये गर्ड ए॥ भड़े यग्यु जी वाव सम्म्य है॥ मेरव बेरी मजी 1160411 तिसे यममे रे दामडे मिथी रे लवदा यम्ब्यमान रामडे उठवा तारिस मय वनत्र हिमें भेग मिया दिस रीयान रेस रे ॥ तिसे समय भार चन्न भीनउत रेहे में भेन रूप मारे ॥ त्रे भेने बस्ता हैपन चसुत्रनी में भासमागते दंड भागते में भेनी ऐति ॥ में मिरवदात वित्रदात निमित्र में भेवे वेभ ॥ भारे दारा यवभ रा वनम भरोहा रे माम रामडे ॥ नाम रेरा है निसी

वपर दग्मे । ६०६ ॥ भाडे पापा मू ठाउन दिनी ने मत्व उनम रामाडे ॥ दिन मस्त मुट है यामा दियास मिथा मड़े उन मिथा भयते डेने भारि षीचान वीउ ॥ गें रेटि ठिटिनी में यंष रे नाम रिस मगरा ॥ भारे देय गींगमी ॥ भारे मगरा दिस धिरिणाती रियर हैउयाउ उरे जैमित ॥ द्रेय दिस मय सदारियण हैत रेश रै॥ माथ ग्रंय मारिष मी ॥

मुने रीने त भाष्मी भे भर्गवान सन्दी इस यादिन ॥ भंसे भायत यह रहती हुमे यस मादिरी॥ भित वरेप मिष्ट सुद्वरे भने थिडे एस यादि ॥ चीन तीष्ट्र भजेंबान म बाहरी देर बूब मुखानी ॥ भर्जेबार मुद्दे स्वित जी स्व महामारी दिन भारती <sup>366</sup> ॥६०७॥ मा भाभे नी मघर री माथ माय घरत बीउा उा निष मुट वे दिसमार रेरि बरे। माप ग्रंप मारिय ती। में भेमा राम त विजे राम मिउ यु विभरा है 367 ॥६०८॥ मभ पारि वे भाभे विपास मिथ भवराम वी उने त्री मचे यात्रिमा ॥ ष्टम वात रिच मिथ छी वात्रि बीबू जेमी ॥ घरत जेण भाभा ती हैम मभे सुनीर डी जैमीत ॥ ते सु बुह राउ गुरु दी मागगतो ॥ ६०६॥ ने स्विसे चेदे ने कैने ॥ माथ वींष मार्गिष मी ॥

डित वा भार थैरा मा थरिए हैं ने ताभ जीन गाउं॥ िउत्र वे यिन योग्स मनारी यहिउ ने तिती मुन्यस मिस भिन्न भगाउँ मारि दनमाउँ ॥ ित्र वे उने जीत युगगीन मन यहित है जिती नुनमिष भिष माय मंगिर चत्र माउे ॥ उत्र वे वनभ पनभ मन यदिन है में बेलिए नाभ त्राभ जीव माडे ॥ िम्म से यें ने स्म ने ने नाम्भिय निम् नान् पिन माने नि

में िरत रे वाम ਉਪवारित वेव बेंदी वाम वेंद्र तरी ॥ भीत र वाम रिक र नै ॥ ६१०॥

रिव मभे मभ3 १७६३ पेंग रे भीते डेस प्रान गाँउ वजरी ॥ रुमार्थ रथती यहे मसरे जैत ॥ भाडे रवदामें बेर मैंबीमा बैठीमा जिरिया।। मारीव मस दिरी रिवे जिहे।। में राम चैंप मिंप चनत दैस री पहारी ॥ में चनत वस्त गहरू में रिव विषय ॥ में रिव मायु जवम भाउँ डे वेषवे भारि भंदेर ॥ मारिष मारो में की भाराम मिट वे माधिश। एपितिएस

ष्ट्रम रिव बागा मारिष तू रिणा ॥ युगत युग्ध ते यु वे घरत वीउ ॥ यवभ रंग मू मर रेजे ॥ त्रे अपी ती जामा वह वागम बीडे गैत ॥ वह नीगरे गैति ॥ वगवे उमात भिला गे। भने मानी भमानी भिष् दिस यें है घरना र्गारे रैत ॥ इसी भेरावती रे वंहे भैसागार उसे ॥ नेग किय री बरीना दिस स्ट ठिंग वे ॥ ६१२॥

िरा भाभे मी किस रिडा हैयन मारी भाग सारि रिडी॥ हिं माय छैरे नी भंडारियागा जिस विला । अभ नी में तडी वने यहि विने ॥ में रिंग वैंट मी विषे भारिसा ॥ विम डेनिमण है। यु मारिष त रिमणं 11 ६१३॥

मनषउ ङिलाण सपरातः रिटा षीगान वीडा ॥ ने नैमे यिन माभे दू मर रववारे जारिज सी डैमे री रेर ते ॥ त्रे मार्गिष र जैन भमछ्यत जै भमा तीभा तु रिर रीराग विसे ॥६१४॥

िप्रहे उर भीपेन ये जामी ॥ भाडे वस्त्राम सम सहिमी ॥ िरा रेदी रामु वस डेवाल युगात री बार है। में दिरा सभ वी भारत है। ज़ंब मारिष ती येबीभा माम इ युगत परे भायरे रैति ॥ असिमारी बेदी बिमारी ष्यु ॥ ९३५७ उमत ॥ ष्ट्रपर्द उसत ॥ भाराचाव भतिरेखी संवव घवत उ मामी मानी मिसट ॥६१५॥ घरत है॥ मंबर घरत पराम मन जेरी ॥ हरी यनभ निग्छ तरी बेंटी 369 11

माथ व्यंच माजिय ती ॥ बिल वाडी वाने बमारी पाम येष बीव डिडिंगिया ॥ बुद्ध भभादम सम् चेर्भ रीमै तारी वरि मिद्रण 370 ॥ नेमा मभ जैमी ॥६१६॥ ित्रम् ममे दिश्चि घ्यदग्तु वैमे नेमा ॥ मण ग्य मगीय मी ॥ मत्र कि भी वृधि विज्य मिर त माली। भर जोये हुये वहता रिमार भने वहूप 371 11 रेयत तु यमे निरे यसीत ॥ यम मिनर दिन गड़े भी नेमत ॥ विवर में युवर युवस रा है। माथ व्यं माजिय मी। रिव विज्ञा नामित विज्ञा सुद्रीत ॥ न्ने वैने ॥ डे तर मु*य* ३ मर्थ <sup>३७२</sup> ॥ में वावू वे मिस समीर ॥ मम दिनि भी सारिण दिन भी गरी मी दिनि औ ॥ यर दिरासे मेरे ॥ भारे तीर मगुउ ॥ वैसे ॥ साथ र्ज़्य सारिष ती ॥ रिव्य रार में मेर म मीभ यम वंस वसु म मारेंड ॥ रिवर भिय र भ्य र णवस मन गयन वा डेरी স স্তেই <sup>373</sup> // यत दिता म रेग स्मत है ॥ तग्त्रब ने तर भमस ४२ में स्थित ग्रन्थ गर्म वर्गे 374 ॥६१७॥ में वहेले रे मिथ उंहे ॥ अप्रे वाम दिनि अरे भारिणा दिनि अदे गरीकी दिनि ॥ रेयट म रंगे खड़े विल्लानी वीउदग्त भारें व्रवादि माप खें ॥ स्वत है पादिमारी १०॥ <u>बेथ रियण्टे</u> नगउ वे खेवत वे चम वीत ॥ र्णीडिवास वाडी वरै <del>षा</del>मु तत्व में स्रीत <sup>375</sup> ॥६१८॥ भैमा रन्डान रन्डेना ॥ माथ न्य मारिष त्री ॥ निमानिक किला है जिल्ला है भीय द्वराग अष्टि हुमें 376 ॥ में यूम में गु जैमित में जित र तवारव ॥ भनेवा सी

युना ॥ यात व्यात त रेथतवो ॥ भायतवो भवराम वववे यारी यहिउ रेण ॥ माथ ग्रीय मारिय ती ॥ भागत थारि जाभ भरि जेरि जसास त मारि॥ तगतव वासी बुद्यीण बुद्धे बुद्धी सर्गिष्ट <sup>317</sup> ॥६१९॥ यम ने ਉत्राप्त वेष्टी मधर रा घुप रा मुनू वा ध्यरेम वरे उ तरी कवार ॥ साथ वीय सारिष ती ॥ वाडी रेदत वासीमा मुरोरा मेर्दत ॥ रिप् घता उथे थर वर्गला वाले देत 378 । 1620 ॥ माभ नीम माठिय ती ॥ में दाव॥ ਛਾਤ ਕੁਚਰਚਾ ਆਸ ਨ ਸਾਨੀਹ ॥ माम हे दे विकास का मार्ग 379 महिद्री वाम दिस बद्यीन सद्दर सामा दिस बीउा में त्रीका रे युमंग ॥ ६२१॥ में याया बस वन्तर है ॥ भैमा मया रेकी॥सम्भ र्म्स समित्र सी॥ म3ीण मीं वरे 37 ही है उपीरे 40 34 त रेष्टी ॥ तम्तव मार्ष सिराण बरमारी वीस वे सपट हेरी 380 ॥ भग में थाय जैति में हिरे जैमित ॥ स्वम जीउण ॥ मेंडू सी मारिव से वासम ॥ भाउरीय सी मारिव से मासम ॥ ग्रामा र भागम ॥ भाउ थिउ र भागम ॥ ग्राम मानी र नाभम ॥ हिमामयाउन युरी लयग्रहत रेत में डिउयउ रेमित ॥६२२॥ रिए बसुमुन ए सुउष्ट है ॥ यमु इनउत्र ॥ यमु ही थर नामी। तरीण रे तीर थर मामी। विषेण वे सीर।। मनभ हम घरें घर रोमी ॥ यभारी येतिभ ते घासव॥ में में देम हेरात बमडी ॥ भार्ष बीव ॥ त बेर त युवात ॥ त वनभ त पनभ भौमी जनित त्रासि वस्त्रमा दनने मा ॥६२३॥ भाठ मे येडी घरम मेथ रामी डा मिडमूरा येट तिंभेग ॥ म्रुय्यट रे यीव ॥ भड़े तिरवसंव भष्टें उत्व थेर जैसी संबंस तननी दिश्व भाष्य हे भगीते सुबस प्र िष्उ यंग्मी मैभरात ॥ विमर राम ब्रामित री

मातू ने नेठ पर्वरिण नैत ॥ युवे ही भंम युवी ॥ ष्टिम वववे युवा युवस हेन नै ॥ भन्ने मैंन मत दिन्न स्वय नैत ॥ ६३८ ॥ में मुकू वा भिस ष्टिम युवस हा जिश्व हे हतीण हे समार तारित भिसी त गहारे ॥ मास मंद्र मारिष मी ॥---मुकू वा भिस मुकू वी हाग्न मुख वव गर गर ने मारे ॥ मास मुंद्र मारिष मी ॥

में मूरी भी जा माउ मुराहे बर् ताप्तर डिम बिण री में ॥ मीम हहे बर बैमर री में बित मिर में ह बरी में 388 ॥६३६॥ जा मुराहर एका मिस देमा उहे ॥ मास ग्रंस मारिन मी ॥ जाप मुत्र भी उगरे उगरे अश्री ॥ वहार मेरि उगरे उगरे अश्री ॥ वहार मेरि उगरे जा में वहार है मिस तरी जेरा ॥ में वहार र वहार र मिस जेरी में वैमा जेमी ॥ में हैम कू बढ़ हैपरेम त प्रेम बरेग ॥ मास ग्रंस मारिन मी ॥

भरमय यय मैस है युवा नीहर ढीवा ॥

ि त्र त्र हुछ है भैमा नु यारिये भागरी तरी नदादरा ॥ देउ हुतीभा रे यहान्य सारिभा नाम दान भीउ युउ ॥ इस रा न्य रैत ॥ मभे तारिस भारे रैति मभे वन हैठ मारुने ॥ ता वेरी यहान्य भारिभा रै तारिस ॥ त विमे तास मारा है ॥ दिए निर सत्वंदी रैत ॥ दिता तास भिस वे मिथी त्री नदादरी ॥ ६४१॥

मर में वेडा मधीने में में मेंड मंडर मुका 390 11 ६४० 11

रेग हिपरेम मिथी री विगउ बीचाव रा मवब है माजू है ॥ मिथी वसही वाम दिन् भारिणा दिन्छ वावीबी दिच विमे दिनि हैदे मिथी वसे विगउ बभारे ॥ भागे मिश्र ॥ रिग् पृष्टिपवावी मिथा स्विराण बीउा है ॥ गमुव वेबवे युवम प्रथ भिष्मामी मी रे ॥ ६४२॥

भड़े भिग्न मी दाग्नान भाप दीडी है मिस रेडे हिरम युग्यानय ताल पंय दीडा है ॥ भड़े ह्य राउ नान दी हैंपा मिथा तू जैशी है ॥ भड़े रस्या हालाना मिंथ क्रियांनी रे ॥ यग्रस्गतनी ग्रमुन सी तगिक ॥ भाडे हिन् सामाउ नी उत्तराभे सा निका क्रियारिण पन्थ नेर हिन्नन भूग्यत अमात्रानी नानू वा ॥ डिम रे युद्र मन्त्रयम मिंथ क्रियारिण ने ॥ ६४३॥

नासपन संग ित्र उस से भस त्रिष्ठे बाहत सुनेप सत्र बेप भिस्तु गाने ।। भपती बनती बन तनव त पाष्ठे ठैन उभने बिनर वे भामने सभावि ने 394 ॥ ६४६॥

माथ वंष मारी घ मी ॥

सेथे वउर्र त हुटे ियत बुरुत गान ॥

इथमत गान घयमे से तातव थान हैउान ॥

भावे भौमे िमथ नेटे जैति जित्र हैयन वान विद्र्य दीडी है॥

भारेकी यारिउमारी वान तातव मी हे भावे जिता वसाटी

सीडी है हिता ही भा वसाटी भा वसूर यही भा है॥ तिबु

है मारा निभी याने मिथ डिम ही बार बाबे ब्रें तु

कारी ॥ भारे यमी वीडी ॥ भावे नियु रा यु रिभारा

निष्ण ॥ भने रिमामा ए यु साम भत निष्टमा ॥ ष्टम हे <sup>396</sup> यनदान हैपन मुना ते घथम बीडी ॥ अपी भिन्न डेनी भामहिसार दिनि भर्रेड <sup>397</sup> नेहतनो ॥ मुन्नु बे निथ हैतातू भतंतनो ॥ भने निष्ठे हे भिन्य घटड नेमत ॥ में निमी बनबे मिथा तू भाषिण ए महास बनतो ॥ भडे नियम ए बसपादतनो ॥ माथ थाडिमाती १०॥ सब है है हेम्स निका पत ॥

उत्र चढ़ा मिस्त वर भगगत <sup>398</sup> ॥ भड़े बंग्रवबेस वनवे मनया नदारि रेतने ॥ मिस तू बेमिरव वनत्रने ॥ में भीमस नग्ते ॥ मास याडिमारी १०॥

गुरिद्द त अग्रै ॥ असु त घ्याते ॥
भाउँ तनव वर में रै <sup>399</sup> ॥
भौमे नैसे रे भिम्स रेमित में रोसी भा भाउं म्लंस मगी घ तू नी ता भतंत्रतो ॥ एरिभा यत्नम क्षेत्रा दिसे दून रे मारेना ॥ में निक्ते रे भिस्स मात्रते ॥ मास यगीउमारी १० ॥

मिस हिसान भिमास मैंपाने 400 ॥ हिंगु भिमास विसे तू त सत्ते होते ॥ डिका रा दिमार् करी वनका ॥ ६४७॥

वग्डराभा सपुरत रेणा सउ राभ ॥

## १६ मिउनान यूमारि मायी वीग्उ याडिमागी १०

ने भेग मिस जैमी म हिमज़ त छादमी। भड़े भेने मिस तू मिरा हैसज़ सदारिभा भड़े राज्ञी सतारि मेरा यीषु तारिख मेंग बीडा।।

हामड़ा हेरे बाज़ी हमड़ रेहै भड़े भरायवया है भूरे भंग तिबाज़े भिष्ड बी िष्य रे मारा है। विष्ठें लुहू तातव हेरी ए गुब्द है। में मंड युडाय 403 यिमिविर्ष यमारा। मंड बरे स रहै। बीडा क्रेंड्रे मु बरे गुब्द यूभेमर बे साखा।

गृहू या भाषरा ਹै ने सिथ भेग ਹੋਵੇ उस तू उभाबू पीररा भाडे तसराग गदारी भानेगा ਹै भाडे नैसा गांधु रा भाम डैमे उभाबु रिवे नेगा ਹै ॥

गुरू वर बचत हैं ॥ ज़े निष्ध भेर रेमी जे दित हरता डे प्रीड वरमी ॥ भड़े भेरे पामें बेगुध रिहेना दिता बचता तू भंतेना तारी ॥ ज़े मीड याड़िवा मंतेना में निरास रहेना ॥

भाडे मेंद्र थादर हा भावस हिए हैं में हिंद मिद्दारी हा ਹੈ। में भारतमे हु भैसी रिसारी सभी है में सप रिर्ट ने सुध समस्यात निहत उन दिनि निस् <sup>404</sup> हथए तानी॥ विद्रें में सिन डे यन एक राजा मिन डे सेम विष हथे॥ भड़े मूर्यम में उभाव पीरे डे भाम भारे डिम यामे मेंह यादरं यगर्गिया है। विष्ठे उभाव यीरे भड़े गिरिभाम सादै डैमा बगाबन है। बबु वा भावता है में ब्राभत स्पाइ उदै ख्याइ त उदै ॥ भवष रिरा त्रे ब्राभत स्पाउ रेरे ने सरवनभी म रेरे ॥ सरवनभ रिरा ने नम्भ -र भ्ण्यत वनभ र्ने उग्हा रा बनै ॥ से भ्ण्यत वेरा ॥ हेर र यदिण उहै। में ग्रामिय र जैरिण । में विज म्राभत अंतरा तरी ॥ डिय म्राभत तु रात रेखरास बुडे री मूत थादरी है ॥ हैसते उड़ी माना रात तरी रिडा ॥ वेर्षी माना हम उथारीरा है ॥ वेर्षी 405 जीर फिरफरी है॥ भाडे भी दिसार भी भागिया है में हे हिया रियारमी र बुउ वसे ने सुस बूजभर तु सदगदे ॥ भने सुस गिरण वरे उ हम मैमा दस म्वाभव तरी 406 11 में रिव मिथ गाउमि मिस म अन् यम ये प्रमारि सहारे ॥ उन हम षी उँगरु 407 मेर कलए है। विष्ने ग्राय अपने ग्राय मभार है ॥ में खुटु मारत डी भारिसा है में ग्राव मिथ मिथ ग्राव है में हियरेम द्रिय है।। ग्राविष्टी वहें मेरव म्राव स्मारी यवडेथ ग्राव विषय ।। 409 में ग्राग्डारी कू बेरी अंतेगा डिम वा मतभ यगत सर्वेवा 410 11 मगउ री ਭेंਡ ਚਾਲ ਹੈ ॥ रिव ਭेंड मिरव गरी उ

नगर री बेड चाल है ॥ दिव बेड मिरन गरी उ मबे मारीण हैित ॥ हैमे मैमान है ॥ विनिण वनभ धुमार्गर व्यवभी रिए वनभ मा भारूप रे हैत ॥ विर्धेने रिए सदमर है उग आपरा है भै वीडा भै भद्धिमा ॥ मर रिए वास आपरा है उग रिस रा वीडा वनडिया मा विनम् निमा ॥ भड़े मुन वा भरेर परिणा भड़े भवराम बीडी उर मिस डी ख़ुवू रे यूमारि डी ख़ुवू वर भारे सदादरे मंड ख़ुवू वे जैरे॥

उ मने यान गम उरे ॥ रिय यम िया सेम बेट यम उरे ॥ यम भी उरिण गम ियु मू भी पर्चण ॥ भने रिम य भी असा उरिणा ॥ महमहा महमादहा रिउ रै में मंमान यी नेन गम रै ॥ नेन गम दिया तै में भी माना भादरी रै उ हिंदी ने यन हुनरीण मरी भी ॥ भने में भेग मिस उरेना में स्टामह भने सैटने यनम म यग्हें ना ॥ मेने पंद्य रे यनम विविका मीन्नान्न भयास प्राय भी यन हुने रीम ॥

मरे हिम प्राप्ती वे वृह स्थित रेहे उर पंत्रा मिथा तू प्रमारि थदाहै ॥ ता पंत्रा मिथा प्रमारि थारा भाडे भरूराम वीडी डर हिम रे मड़े वीभ वाम रेहे ॥

वभारें वा में रेषे भी मुभाका भावी मुभाका गरीवा। ॥
भारे माम माग्य भारत उा हाउरी मिभु अवि वे भूमारि यवारे ॥ विव वे युमारि भन्न भाकाने तु मरे भर्तर यहै भन्राम वरी मिभा तु भरारे ॥ उा रिम मीण ए रिउ सारि यहै। णड़े थिङ् हू डी युन्ने।।
णड़े युम भग्न दिगा पंडी संहरी मिन हेगा
बगर 414 हिंहा नगा वा यम निग । भड़े विस्तृता दिनि
गृन् मुगीर यग्दाह है 415 ॥ मुग नगा भायरा हैर है।।
बस्नुता दिन भयग्यर देर है। भयग्यर देर वा दाव
है में वस्नुता में गृन् वा दाव मंहेता।
में वेटी है महिना में हुई गा।

माभाइ बेर युगार यहै सुवाड त जेरी ॥ सुवाडि वी यहुदी ताम है॥ में वेरी ताम सुटै यहै मुथैना सु सुवाडि जेरेना ॥

मंघ रावन मिय और विद्रते ग्रावभूभी घाउं भद्रव घाउ नै <sup>418</sup> ॥ मीउम्राबु वर भाषटा मीउ मीउ वर भरेरा ॥भरेता में निराम नेदेवा ॥ भव में त भरेता में गोडे भारेता ॥

गृत् चारे बही दम् हु बुनी च वर्ते बनी हू बही च बरे ॥ बीडा छहे में बरे में उदे ॥ भेते प्रवभ डा में रत रिमे ॥ प्रवभ त भेते में मिती रहे ॥ भेते बी यागिभ बगुउ है ॥

रिव रित ने बिंग् निथा नी बेरिडण ॥ में मघर घी मरा ठेनचे युडीं उठी वनती ॥ मघर छित युडींंड ठेन तनव के मामी ॥ मघर यद्दर मघर मुतरा मघर ब्रभाररा ॥

मन् भारे मारी याही॥

ममर माझ मेंगु सुरु सिष्ठ भिन्नी भीभूउ माने॥
मानी नान नान ने महन माने दिनि माने भीभूउ माने॥
मानी नो मेहन मान भागे स्उस नानू ितमङाने 420॥
उ नानू ने मिंग मी 421 निर्मण अपि मिंग में
स्पीर में निनमं दिनि मैनानी निर्मण आपि मिंग में
एमड़ी रे माने ए दिमार मनी नन्सा पीण बैट मू मुनी
विस्ता मुनी रेपरा भाग गीउण में॥ सनापी दमड़
म सुनार में। सनापी संभीकी मने नन्मी॥

मङ्गा हेना रा रावु है ॥ भिरंब वा राव मारी ॥ तिरंब इंड विव भाविषा है सारिष री एवना है। तिरंब यन जैनात ने बेरि त स्रौ युवान ॥ यन मारहा ने सिन त्री विरिट्ण ॥ वावु डे मेम्स तरी रेहटा ॥ 424 सवर उसा ने वेरि त वीडा विदेवन एउने पान ॥ उसा यवभ वर भाषे ॥ जीव रववारि जैरिष्ट मजरिष्ट ॥ यवभ वा डेमा रेर माते इसे तेने दी सेरा वनती ॥ सेरा अर वि सभी वरीते ॥ जीव रववार भे सभी सुतीते ॥ मेर वनते मिसे भीषा भी अधीभा भी हेर तरी म्या में इंग्मित है वे सड़ी है उन्हें में मी मामानी रै ॥ बगरे वयने भने मटा हैना र नाष्ट्र भिषा तरी ॥ गरा से मात वर मिथ गुरू वर मात वरीर मेरा वर्ती युमा वयरी ॥ युव मैसिर मिथा मेरी रा उवम रे में जैसा वाव उपरी सदारिया दए में डैसा उंच विसे रे थरारि रा ढस तरी जैडा ॥ मिउता यत रूपे पुत रूपे में गुगडारी का मेदा डे दये॥

मिसे बारी राग्वा भी की ढड़े में ॥ भड़े स्ते मिसे एउं बारी है सिड्वा भी वे राव मड बव मेंतरे॥ रावाण त गैरे ठाव॥ रावाणि ठाव त गैररी मेंत्रण मिडवा का राव॥ रावाण ठाव त गैररी मिडवा व वा गैरि प्राभ॥ वालू वा राव मै भेना मिस गैरेवा

विरिम्मा हमर् गारियो उत्थर यथंड वत्य भरे रैत ॥ में मिथ रिदेवा वाव मंबर की रोवम री युडीड तरी वनती 426 ॥ रेव युडीड तवब के मण्ट रे॥

चेक्र वरी ती दाउनातृ ॥ माभी मधुनत उँटी ॥ इक्ष व्य चथमरी ॥ गउताभ मैथुगर ॥ <sup>४०१</sup> दाउनातृ त्री मार्गिट ॥ माउताभ ॥ सी भायाक युग्य ती मार्गिट ॥ चेउ मुरी चेंरे येथी किथी तीर मार्गिट मंभउ १८२१ टियीटे ॥

बेलर डग्टी नी दग्जान सप्धी संपनत ਹੋਈ बुल सुव बद्यमठी ॥ मैंभउ १९१इ येषी संपनत ਹੋਈ एमभउ जीनताम सिंध चड़ी हे ॥

## NOTES TO THE GURMUKHI TEXT

## ABBREVIATIONS:

Adi Granth.

Bhai Gurdas, Vārān. BG

DGDasam Granth.

Guru Nanak Dev University library manuscript no. 1018. **GNDU** Sikh History Research Department of Khalsa College, KhC

Amritsar, manuscript no. SHR 227.

Mahala, the Adi Granth code-word, meaning 'Guru'. M1 designates Μ

Guru Nanak, M2 designates Guru Angad, etc.

Piara Singh Padam (ed.), Rahit-name. Patiala, 1974. PSP Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar, manuscript no. 6124. SRL

Numbers given in parentheses indicate folio or page numbers.

PSP begins with a prologue which the GNDU/SRL text lacks. See Appendix.

M5, Gaurī Bāvan Akharī 44, AG p.259.

PSP (70): 'tisakā nām rahit hai'.

M1 Bilaval Ast 1 (3), AG p. 831. PSP omits this quotation and the sentence which

Kabir, Gaurī 18, AG p. 327.

SRL: guru'.

Bhikha, Savaie mahale tije ke 20, AG pp.1395-96.

PSP (70): 'virale'.

- PSP (70): 'par gurū kā sikh rahit dī khojaņā karai, tab gurū kā sikh hoi hai.'
- PSP (70): 'pher dharamasālā jithe kathā sabadu granth jī parīai tahān jathā sakati ...' PSP (71): 'jad prasadi khavanai avai tan jatha sakati prasadi ek garas arapan kare'.
- M1, Sārang kī vār 22:1, AG p. 1245. AG: 'ghāli khai kichhu hathahu dehi'.

Farid, Salok. 112 AG p. 1384.

PSP (71) omits 'athava garam tate'.

M2, Vār Mājh 18:1, AG p. 146. AG: 'sachā nāu'.

- PSP (71): 'mīne 1. dūje rāmaraīe. tīje kurīmār. chauathe bhadanī. pañjaven masand'. M3, Bihagare kī var 16:1, AG p. 554. PSP (71) omits all but a corrupt version of the
- last line.

PSP (71-72).

Kabir, Gond 11, AG p. 873 (SRL text). GNDU (6b) quotes the line which recurs at the end of stanzas 28-31 of Japji, AG pp. 6-7. PSP (72) quotes the first four lines of stanza 31.

GNDU (6b) and PSP (72): 'sang'.

SRL (4a): 'sabha'.

SRL (4b) and PSP (72): omit 'janam'. Pakhyan Charitra 396, DG p. 1387

PSP (72): 'paraīsatri dekhe nāhī'.

GNDU (7a) and PSP (72): 'praīsatriā dī sangat nā baithe'.

PSP (72): 'ate nații mar kuri nal na varate'.

M3, Āsā Patti 6, AG p. 435.

GNDU (7b): 'gurū kā sikh ehu bachan prohit nū hoā hai'.

GNDU (8a): 'sevak'.

GNDU (8a): 'guru granth sāhib jī dī mañjī dī charanu dhoi ke vichhi patāse pāi ke'. PSP (73): 'guru granth jī dī mafiji dā charanāmrit vichh patāse pāe'.

GNDU (8b) and PSP (73) both add 'tanakhāhi laivani'.

M2, Vār Mājh 22:2, AG p.148.

PSP (73): 'gurū kā sikh kes dārhī chhanīān nāiān dā pāņī sir nā pavāe'.

The numbering sequence of SRL and GNDU, having diverged from section 8 onwards, is restored to harmony at this point by a sudden leap from 10 to 20 in the case

of SRL. GNDU (10a): 'dunī tahal seva sū lochanā'.

GNDU (10a) and PSP (73): 'jo jugati dā gurū hoi ke gurū kī saran āvai duņā marātibā'.

(1) 表演者,或信仰如此之一、資質等、新工具、企工

GNDU (10b): 'babe sahib'. PSP (73): 'satiguran'.

PSP (73): 'asan'. GNDU (10b): 'asanu'. The SRL text is corrupt.

M4, Gauri Guareri 41 (1), AG p. 164. AG: 'satigur priti gurasikh mukhi pai'.

GNDU (11a): 'vikārī vachi na bīje'. PSP (73): 'vichār vich bīje'.

M1, Asa Ast 15 (4), AG p. 419.

M3, Salok vārān te vadhīk 1, AG p. 1413. AG: 'jin kai man mahi bharamu'.

M1, Ibid 17, AG p. 1411. For 'khatrī' SRL reads 'sikh'.

PSP (74): khatrī kis dā nām hai. so sun. khate pāpān kā nām hai. pāpān dā jo vairī hoi so khatrī hai'.

M1,  $V\bar{a}r\,\bar{A}s\bar{a}$  16:2, AG p. 471.

PSP (74): 'brāhaman'.

M5, Gaurī kī vār 29:2, AG p. 315.

Kabir, Sorath 9, AG p. 656. AG: 'man mere bhule kapatu na kijai, anti nibera tere jia

M5, Gauri Sukhamani 12, AG p. 278. SRL omits the second line.

M1, Vār Āsā 17: 1, AG p. 472.

M5, Dhanāsarī 23 (3), AG p.676 AG: 'jah sādh santan'.

M5, Bārah Māhā Mājh 9, AG p.135. AG: 'paramesar te bhuliā viāpani sabhe rog'. Namdev, Sārang 3, AG p. 1252. GNDU (14b) and PSP (75) both add the second

line of the couplet.

M1, Vār Āsā 5, AG p.465. M1, Vār Mājh 20:2, AG p.147.

GNDU (16a) and PSP (75): 'sog bhani avana'.

PSP (76) adds 'prasādi karavāe'.

PSP (76): 'sikh de nām dī prasādī dharamasālā athavā adhikārī nū devai'.

Kabir, Asa 16, AG p.479.

M4, Gaurī kī vār 15:1, AG p.308. PSP (77) omits this quotation.

M5, Bhairau 34, AG p.1145. 61. GNDU (19a) and PSP (77): 'ughare'.

PSP (77): 'jekar kesadhārī karanī hoi janam de nāl rakhe'. 63.

64. PSP (77): 'hnavale'.

SRL omitted this injunction. 65.

M1, Sārahg kī vār 20:1, AG p. 1245.

Possibly a corrupt version of M5, Gond 8(1) and 9 (2), AG p.864. AG: 'guru bina mai nāhī hor'.

M1, Āsā 25, AG p. 356. PSP (77) omits text from 'saradhī subhāu' to 'praupakārī'.

M5, Jaitsarī kī vār 14, AG p.709.

GNDU (1b, second numbering sequence): 'vasat chīj dī sucheti'.

M5, Gūjarī vār 3, AG p. 518. AG: 'mohi niragun dichai'.

M1, Bihāgare kī vār 20:1, AG p. 556. AG: 'putu jinūrā dhīa jinūrī jorū jinnā dā sikadāru'.

PSP (78): 'gurū kā sikh je arathi [hoai]'.

GNDÙ (3b) adds 'kulahatiā na sijhate'. PSP (78) adds 'kul-hatiā hai so bhārī hai'.

M1 Rāmakalī kī vār 14:1, AG p. 954. SRL and GNDU have both omitted the first line of the couplet: 'rovahi pandav bhae majur'. PSP (78) omits the quotation altogether.

76. PSP (78): 'ik inhan trihu bina, ik kannia-hat, duja bhaddan, tija bikhia ihu na karan'.

SRL (16b): 'marīe'.

M4, Åsā 54, AG p. 366. PSP (79): 'sāhūkār'.

M1 Sārang kī vār 7:1, AG p.1240.

M3, Gauri Bairagani 5, AG p.233. PSP omits this quotation.

M5, Salok Sahaskritī 33, AG pp.1356 -57. AG: 'guramantr hīnas jo prānī dhrigant

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janam bhrasatanah. kukarah sukarah garadhabhah kakah sarap nah tuli khalah'.

SRL (17b): 'sijāte'.

SRL (17b) omits 'sikh nū'. 84. 85.

M4, Devagandhārī 6, AG p. 528. SRL (18a): 'rakhe ki jave (rakh ke javai)'. 86.

PSP (80): 'dujī sikhī pachhān aru maramī'. 87.

M5, Gaurī Bavan Akharī 27, AG p.255. 88.

M4, Gaurī kī vār 9:2, AG p.304. M1, Malar kī var 21, AG p.1288. 90.

M1, Marū Solahe 13, p. 1209. AG: 'ini dubidhā ghar bahute gāle'. 91.

PSP (81) adds 'gilāni na hovai'. 93. M5, Dhanasari 24, AG p.677.

Japji 21, AG p.4. 94.

PSP (81-82): gurū kā sikh jo arathī āvai tisakā arath pūrī kare. aru jo nāli tinān ke hor hovan tan jatha sakati sabhanan sikhan di puja karani. us de adhikar saman'.

PSP omits sections 113-116.

SRL (22a): 'ghatī visāsu'.

M1, Vār Mājh 21:1, AG p. 147. 98. M1, Gauri Bairagani 18, AG p. 229. 99.

100. SRL (22b): 'guru ke sikh hase nal bhi jam akhange'.

M1 Var Āsā 12, AG p.470. 101.

102. 103.

104.

M1, Āsā 36, AG p.359. SRL (23a): 'gandhavākī'. M1, Sirī Rāgu 4, AG p. 15. PSP (82): 'badhi nū achhād laindā hai'. 105.

106. SRL (23b): 'viāhu kāraj'.

107. SRL (24a): 'gurū kā sikh rahati rakhe'. PSP (82): 'jo rahit gurū kā rakhe'.
108. The GNDU text (33b) reads: 'gurū kā sikh hode bal dhaurī de boke pānī nā pīve. gurū kā sikh daiā pāle. na tate pāso jal pīve. sarabat upar'. The SRL text (24a) substantially followed this reading. The published PSP text (possibly reconstructed) reads (82): 'gurū kā sikh, honde bal dhaurī de boke pānī na pīai nā turak ke pāson jal pīai. gurū kā sikh daiā pāle sarabat uparī, par jis daiā vich ...' The PSP editor subsequently glosses 'tata' as 'turak' (PSP, p. 83n).

109. Farid, Salok 129, AG p. 1384. PSP (83) substitutes the first line of the same couplet. It then omits the next injunction and the quotation from the Krisan avatar.

110. M10, Kriśan avatār 2489, DG p. 570.

111. 'turak'. See above note 108.

112. SRL (25a): 'sahaj hans'.

113. GNDÙ (35a) adds 'badī nāl charachā na kare'.

114. GNDU (35a) omits 'dharam'.

SRL (25a): 'gandhabāṇīa'. 115.

116. PSP omits the portion which runs from 'age di kharachi kar lae' to 'so aisā hī phuriā hai'.

SRL (26a) omitted 'dan deda'.

Chandi Charitra ukati bilās 146, DG p. 88.

119. M1. Vār Mārū 1:1, AG pp. 1086-87.

120. Ibid., p. 1087.

121. Source not identified.

122. PSP omits the portion which runs from 'nā nindā kare' to 'tā mahil khasam kā pāusī'.

123. BG XXXIV:2,

M1, Vār Āsā 15, AG p. 471. 124.

125. PSP (84) inserts 'na'.

M4, Var Gaurī 8:2, AG p.303. AG: 'muṭhā bikhu māiā'. 126. 127.

SRL (27b): 'gurū sabad sikh hohi sikh ke'. 128.

M1, Vār Āsā 5.2 AG p. 465. M1, Dakhanī Oankār 4, AG p. 90. 129.

M3, Vär Bilaval 1:2, AG p. 849. 130.

131. M3, Rāmakalī Anand 24, AG p. 920. SRL (28a): 'satigurū binā kachī sachī banī, satigurū binā hor kachī hai bānī, bānī ta kachī satigurū bājhahu hor kachī bānī, kahado kache sunade kache kafichī akhi vakhāni.'

132. M5, Asā 62, AG p. 386.

133. PSP omits 'guru kā sikh granth sāhib jī thī pāras dos na koi'.

134. Kabir, Salok 156, AG p. 1372. AG: 'sabhai kau khāi'.

135. PSP omits the portion which runs from 'gurū kā sikh rahirās dā bhog pāvai tā sarab' to 'sikh nū vāhigurū jī kī phate balāe'.

136. Farid, Salok 95, AG p. 1382.

137. *PSP* (84): 'vasatī'. 138. *PSP* (85): 'pakhandī'.

139. SRL (30a): 'sākh granth sāhib jī'.

140. 33 Savayye 1, DG p. 712.

141. M5 Sārang 113, AG p. 1226.

142. SRL (31a) omitted 'gair nū na kare'.

143. M5, Sārang 13, AG p. 1206.

144. M5, Āsā 43, AG p. 381.

145. M5, Gaurī Sukhamanī 5 (7), AG p. 269.

146. SRL (31a): 'ketī chhaţī nāli'.

147. SRL (31a) does not repeat 'vahaguru'.

148. M5, Bilāval 58, AG p. 815.

149. M1, Dhanāsarī 7, AG p. 662. PSP (86) omits this and the seven quotations which follow it.

150. M5, Bilāval 88, AG pp. 821-22.

151. M5, Sūhī 54, AG p. 749. AG :'charanadhūri'.

52. M1, Rāmakalī Aṣṭ. 7 (3), AG p. 906. AG: 'jā jamu dhāi kes gahi mārai surati nahī mukhi kāl gajā'.

153. M5, Gūjarī Dupade 20, AG p. 500. AG: 'kes sangi dās pag jhārau ihai manorath mor'.

154. Kabir, Gond 2, AG p. 870.

155. Kabir, Salok 25, AG p. 1365.

156. M10, Akāl Ustat 252, DG p. 35.

157. SRL (32b) omitted 'sīrī bachan dī'. 158. PSP (86) omits 'jītanā man dā'.

159. PSP (86): 'sabad'.

160. M2, Vār Sūhī 7:3, AG p. 787.

161. PSP (87): 'hor itane siphat hon guramati-rahit hachhī hovai'.

162. PSP (87): 'sammat 1724 dās chaupā singh pāson sāhib guramukhī akharu puchhiā karan, uh kahe tusīn āp jān rahe ho mahārāj, jān tā rahe hān pahili lām puchhane hān'.

163. *PSP* (88): 'sāsatrī'.

164. SRL (36a) omitted 'paradā kar gae. turakā nū ate dusatā nū jhūthe kar māranā'.

165. PSP (88) adds 'hind di vasate'.

166. PSP (88) adds 'kiujo brāhamaņān dā janeū savā maņ utaran lag poae sī kasamīr mai'.

167. PSP (88): 'ant de same do sikh sāhibān nāl nibhe, tahil prasādi pānī dī karade dilī gae'.
168. PSP (88): 'māgh'. This PSP reading is obviously a mistake. The PSP text

subsequently gives 'maghar sudi panchami' as the date of Guru Tegh Bahadur's srādh ceremony. PSP, p. 90.

169. M10, Bachitra Natak 5:15-16, DG p. 54. PSP (88) omits the second couplet.

170. PSP (88) omits the portion which runs from 'jī sache pātasāh' to 'chhibar āsāde āda sikh haini mukat hoe'. In its place it has: 'bachan hoiā nihāl hoe mukati hoe'.

171. PSP (89): 'sansakritī salokā'.

172. PSP (89): omits 'dharam sant kiti'. 'sant' should read 'sasatr'.

173. PSP (89): 'daragah mal'.

174. PSP (90) adds 'srī mukh vāk svaiye uchāre'.

175. PSP (90): 'srādh'.

176. SRL (40a) omitted 'samundr sagar bania. duja granth jī'.

177. GNDU and SRL: 'utar'. PSP: 'autar'.

178. SRL (40b) omitted 'bhī gurū ho'.

179. SRL (40b) omitted 'sarīn dī' and jumbles the order of the eight words which follow them.

180. PSP (90): 'khanda'.

81. In place of 'ate pañj avaye paru. chaupā singh parane lagā', PSP (90-91) reads 'ate pañj pañj savaiyai pañh paran lage, kehare, dayā singh vāsī lāhaur dī chhatri bans, sāhib singh dachhani sain ke janam thā, himmat singh purī jagann nāth phandak de janam thā, dharam singh ghar hasatanāpur dī vāsī dhanne ke janam thā, pañjaven muhakam singh namadev ke janam tha, ih pañj singh savaiye lage paran'.

182. In place of 'bachan hoa ... sanumukh jai khalota PSP (91) reads: 'ticharan nu mata

sakatī mātā sāhib devi dā rūp dhār ke patāse vich dār gai'.

183. Chandī charitra ukati bilās 231, DG p. 99.

184. In place of 'prathame pāhul chaupā singh nū ditī panjān' PSP (91) reads: 'panjān singhān nū amrit chakāiā'.

85. PŠP (91): 'bachan hoiā inān pāsahun chhako. nām singhān de'.

186. M1, Japjī 16, AG p. 3.

187. PSP (91): 'nānv ethe āi kar singh rakhaņā'.

188. *PSP* (91): 'sabh'.

189. *PSP* (92): holi.

190. SRL omitted sections 185-246 inclusive.

191. M1, Vār Āsā 22, AG p. 474. AG: 'khasamai kare barābarī phiri gairati andari paī. vajahu gavāe agalā muhe muhi pāņā khāi'.

192. PSP (92): 'hathan da sakhi hovai'.

193. PSP omits the remainder of section 193 and sections 194-280 inclusive.

194. M10, Bachitra Nāṭak 6:30, DG p. 57. Cf. Bansāvalī-nāmā 10:165.

195. Ibid 6:29, DG p. 57 Number 204 appears twice in the text.

196. Ibid 14:5, DG p. 73. Although the text records only the third and fourth lines of verse 5 the context suggests that the narrator must also have had the first two lines in mind.

197. Ibid 6:32, *DG* p. 57. 198. Ibid 6:60, *DG* p. 59.

199. Numbers 212 and 213 are missing in the text.

200. DG p. 716.

201. M1, Sirī Ragū Ast 5 (6), AG p. 56. AG: 'padit vāchahi'.

202. M5, Salok Sahaskritī 65, AG p. 1360.

203. M1, Sirī Ragū kī Vār 7:2, AG p. 85. AG: 'rīsā karih tinārīā'.

204. *DG* pp. 716-17. 205. *DG* p. 717.

206. DG p. 717.

207. M1, Vār Mājh 7:2, AG p. 141.

208. M5, Phunahe 8, AG p. 1362.

209. M10, Akal Ustat, Invocation, DG p. 11.

210. Source not identified.

211. M1, Salok vārān te vadhīk 12, AG p. 1411.

212. SRL (44b): 'phail phakar jo vikār so na kare'.
213. M1, Vār Mājh 16, AG p. 145.

214. M4, Vār Gaurī 15:3, AG p. 309. 215. M5, Sorath 12, AG pp. 611-12.

216. Ibid., p. 612.

217. M5, Sorath 49, AG pp. 620-21.
218. There is no section numbered 266.

219. M5, Āsā Chhant 11 (1), AG p. 460.

220. M1, Rāmakalī Dakhanī Oankār 27, AG p. 933. 221. The PSP text (93) rejoins GNDU/SRL at this point.

222. *SRL* (54b): 'manne'.

223. M3, Vär Vadahans 21:1, AG p. 594. 224. M5, Gaurī Sukhamanī 18:1, AG p. 286.

225. There are no sections numbered 283 or 284.

226. PSP (93): 'vairu'.

227. PSP (93): 'sabad gāvaņe-parhane vāle'.
228. PSP (93): 'jo sikh granth sāhib jī de pās prasādi liāvai, ate dharamasālīā antar dhar lao. varatae nahī lobh karake, so bhī'.

229. PSP (94). GNDU and SRL both omit section 293. GNDU attaches the number 291 to the preceding section in place of 292. In the SRL text, however, it was numbered 292 and this is confirmed by the PSP sequence.

230. SRL (56a): 'pakā tanakhāhīa'.

231. PSP (94) adds 'pangati vich'.

232. PSP (94) adds 'par adab adhikār dekh kari kare. prasādi vich vadh ghat nā karai'. 233. SRL (56a): 'sāphā'. PSP (94): 'paradā'.

234. PSP (94). GNDU and SRL both omit section 298.

235. PSP (94) omits this offence.

236. SRL (56b) added 'srī vāhagurū japadī rahe bahidā uthadā sās sās vīchār na kare, ehu sikhī dī rīt dhārane jog hai sikh ko.'

237. PSP (94) omits this offence.

238. PSP (94): 'parade'.

239. SRL (57a) and PSP (94): 'phatakāre'.
240. PSP (94): 'jo sikh sikh nū bura ākhe krodh nāl so tanakhāhīā'.

241. SRL (57a): 'dhakā'. 242. SRL (57a): 'lae'.

243. PSP omits this offence.

*PSP* omits this offence. SRL (57b) omitted 'lare'.

246. GNDU (102a): 'vahil'.
247. SRL (57b): 'jo sikharathī sikh vāsīā vālīā nū dukhāe'. PSP (95): 'jo arathī sikhān nū vāsā vālī dukhāe'.

248. GNDÙ (102b): 'jo sirī sāhib kau langhe'.

249. PSP (95) inserts an additional injunction: 'auranā ko upades kare tanakhāhīā'.
250. SRL (58b): 'pith pichhe pāe'.
251. GNDU (103b): 'vir ke'.

SRL omitted this injunction.

253. *PSP* (96) adds 'jāpajī'.

PSP (96): 'gilī-sukī kachh pāi lae. kachh de pāunche dā sikh visāh nā kare'. SRL (59b): 'nārī'.

M4, Var Gauri 15:1, AG p. 308.

257. SRL (60a): 'sula na kare'. 258. SRL (60b): 'khūnī khatāvāla'.

*PSP* omits this offence.

260. SRL (60b): 'nirādar'. SRL omitted this offence.

SRL (61a) and PSP (97): 'isanan'.

263. SRL omitted this offence.

PSP (97): 'jo sikh parāī isatrī de ghari jāi harāmī karai'. PSP omits this offence.

SRL omitted this offence.

SRL (61b) omitted 'path charachā'.

268. PSP (98) adds 'basair'.

269. SRL (62A) omitted 'malechhani' and 'malechh'.

270. GNDU (110b): 'nātar so bhī'.

271. M4, Gaurī Pūrbī 4, AG p. 13. 272. SRL omitted this offence.

273. SRL (62b): 'sravar mārī pūjan jāe'.

274. GNDÙ (111b): 'ada'.

275. GNDU (111b): 'binā suchet kīte'. PSP (99) omits this offence.

276. SRL (63a): jo kesadhārī dandā nāl darī tuke so tanakhāhīā. kaichī mochanā lāe so tanakhāhīa.

277. SRL (64a): 'jo sikh sikh nū prasādi kahake mulāhaje vāleā ko bulāe su tanakhāhīā. garīb nū nā sade so tanakhāhīā.'

278. PSP (100): 'jo garīb hoikai mašakarā hovai tis nū mat deņī nāhīn'.

SRL (64a) omitted 'murakh hovai'.

279. M1, Var Majh 12:2, AG, p. 143.

280. BG XXXIV. 21.

281. M4, Sārang Dupadā 7, AG p. 1200.

282. SRL (65a) omitted this offence.

283. M5, Sārang, 113, AG p. 1226. 284. PSP (101): "sirand vāle khatrī ate chandūśāhī khatrī.

285. *PSP* (101).

286. SRL (65b): 'so bhalā tanakhāhīā'.

287. PSP (101) omits this offence.

288. PSP (101): 'jo mañje ute bahe ate sabad suņake heṭhān nā bahe yā paṛan vāle nū pās bahāvai nāhī so tanakhāhīā.' SRL (66a) omitted this offence.

289. PSP (101): 'jo sikh gur dohī bār bār sabad vich galān kare so tanakhāhīā'. SRL (66a) omitted this offence.

290. SRL (67b) omitted this offence.

291. SRL (67b): 'turak'. PSP (103) omits this offence.

292. *PSP* (103): 'chhanake'.293. *SRL* (68a): 'an de khetr vich'.

294. GNDU (121a): 'khāve'. PSP (103): 'jo sikh, biradh athavā sūrame singh nū prasād khavāvaņe lage, ate (pakhī) jhal kari nā khavāe, so tanakhāhīā.'

295. SRL (68b): 'dhil lae'.

296. SRL (68b): 'sir pāe'. PSP (103): 'bheḍān dā dudh-dahīn khāe'. 297. Farid, Salok 130, AG p. 1384.

298. RL (68b); 'ate kāṇā andaro'.
299. PSP (103): 'jo sikh āp sansār dī kāṇ vich varate ate bāharon mukatā sadāe so kūṛā tanakhāhīá.

300. Source not located.

301. PSP (104) omits this offence.

302. PSP (104): 'chhakāvaņe vālā'.

303. The PSP text (104) includes a brief section which the GNDU/SRL text lacks.

304. PSP (104-5); 'brāhamanān nūn age bithāle te pāchhe sikhān nūn baithāle so tanakhāhīā.'

305. PSP (105): 'jo sikh jāṇake paṅgati brāhaman khā jāe te magaron jā khāve so tanakhāhīā.'

306. PSP (105): 'hath jor ke bhul-chuk bakhasāi lae nahī ta tānakhāhīā rahegā'.

307. PSP (105): 'no deve'.

308. Kabir, Gond 11, AG p. 873.

309. PSP (105): 'karad-bheţā'.
310. PSP (105): 'paṭī likhan vālā dhoi ke sukāvaņi dī thā mukāvaņī ākhe so tanakhāhīā'. SRL (70b) omitted this offence.

311. For this and several of the remaining offences the SRL copyist used the abbreviated forms 'sut' or 'sutan' in place of 'su (so) tanakhāhīā'.

312. PSP (106) adds 'thake hoe'.

313. PSP (106): 'namasakār kare'.

314. M10, Jāp 184, DG p. 10. SRL and PSP both omit this quotation. 315. SRL (71a) omitted this offence.

316. PSP (106) omits this offence.

317. PSP (106): 'beprajojan kutte nun sota vatta mare'.

318. PSP (106) omits this offence.

319. SRL (71b) omitted this offence.

320. SRL (71b) omitted this offence. 321. SRL (71b) omitted this offence.

322. PSP (106) omits this offence.

323. M5, Gaurī Sukhamanī 16 (7) and 23 (5), AG pp. 284, 294.

324. M1, Salok vārān te vadhīk 33, AG p. 1412. SRL omitted both quotations.

325. SRL omitted the latter portion of 537, from 'ate muhabat' onwards. 326. PSP (107): 'baith'. SRL omitted this offence.

327. SRL (72a): 'suchet baithā'.
328. M1, Vār Āsā 12, AG p. 470. See section 117.

329. M1,  $\bar{A}s\bar{a}$  36, AG p. 359. See section 118. 330. SRL (72b) omitted this offence.

331. SRL (72b) omitted this offence.

332. GNDU (130a): 'dharā'.

333. M1, Āsā Kāfī Āsī 13:(1), AG p. 418. 334. M1, Dhanāsarī 2, AG p. 660. SRL and PSP both omit this quotation.

335. PSP (108) omits this injunction.

336. PSP (108): 'gurū kī sikhanī granth sāhib pothī paran sikhe tān parakritā sansārī tiag deve. so kaun parakritān – git tappe gāvaņe mašakarīā gandi zabān nā kare. āpaņe dharam parain rahe, kahe te, jo apana dharam kalian karata hai, buri isatri nal ekali baili kari galān nā karai.'

337. GNDU (132a): 'katā'. PSP (108): 'bharatā'.

338. M4, Gaurī Guāreri 41 (1), AG p. 164. See above note 39.

339. PSP (108) adds 'chaunke vich jai'.

340. SRL (74b) omitted 'baiā gurū kā lae' and 'satisangati binā'.

341. Kabir, Bhairau 9 (1), AG p. 1159.

342. The GNDU/SRL text here repeats by mistake the injunction 'ate bharate nu karata kar jānaņā'. Cf ChS 556.

343. SRL (75b) omitted 'thagā chorā kīkhanā de. dekhan nū sikh karam.' PSP (109): 'dekhane nu sikh ate karam chora thagga de ate malechha de.'

344. SRL (75b) omitted 'dekhan nu sikh karam sakata de'.

345. GNDU (136b): 'visasughātī'.

346. SRL (75b) omitted 'janāhī' and 'dhāravī'.
347. M1, Salok vārān te vadhīk 12, AG p. 1411.

M10, Bachitra Nātak 6, DG p. 57.

GNDU (77b) and PSP (111) add: 'ih purakh da raula bhī hai'.

PSP (112) adds 'so bahut unhān āpanī āp lakhāiā nahī, ate kuchh sāgar vich bhī haini,

351. This should presumably read 'murid'.

352. PSP (113-15) omits section 588 and substitutes a much longer passage. See English translation note 461.

353. GNDU (147b); 'rāsī'. 354. PSP (115): 'sammat 1763'.

355. M1, Vār Āsā 20:2, AG p. 473. AG: 'dekhane vichāri'.

356. SRL (83a) omitted 'sāhib de bachan mūjab' and substituted 'dharam mrijādā chalasī'.

SRL (83b): 'kachha'.

358. M1, Var Malar 23:2, AG p. 1288. This quotation has been added in the margin of GNDU (152a)

359. M5, Vār Jaitasarī 10:1, AG p. 708.

360. Ibid.

361. Kabir, Sorath 9, AG p. 656.

362. GNDU and PSP lack raj vahiguru ka samajh ke seva isat ki rakhani.

363. M1, Tilang 5, AG p. 722.

364. PSP (117): jo sarabat vich main han ate khalasa mera hai, mera guru khalasa hai,

365. In the text the number follows 'so panth vasate'. 366. M3, Vār Mārū 9, AG p. 1089.

367. M5, Sūhī 41, AG p. 745.

368. M4, Var Sorath 16, AG p. 648. In the text the section number 610 follows this

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See English translation note 497. 370. M1, Var Mājh 16:1, AG p. 145.

371. M1, Salok vārān te vadhīk 15, AG p. 1411.

372. Ibid.

373. Ibid.

374. Ibid.

M10, Bachitra Nāṭak 6:56, DG p. 58. 375.

M1. Śalok vārān te vadhīk 22, AG p. 1412. 377. M1, Vār Mājh 7:2, AG p. 141.

M1, Vār Sūhī 13:2, AG p. 789. Kabir, Gaurī Cheiī 44, AG p. 332.

M1, Rāmakalī Ast 1 (3), AG p. 902.

Nihakalankī Avatār 141, DG p. 581. SRL (91a) quoted only four words. GNDU (155b) quotes four lines.

382. M10, Akāl Ustat 6:76, DG p. 18. PSP (121) omits the material which runs from the conclusion of this quotation to the end of section 638.

'manavantr'.

384. The text omits numbers 623-628.

385. M5, Gaurī Sukhamanī 16 (2), AG p. 284.

M10,  $J\bar{a}p$  1:1, DG p.1 SRL (93a) quoted only these five words.

GNDU (170a-b) extends the quotation to six lines.

GNDU (171b) here inserts an obscure one-line quotation.

M1, Vadahans 3, AG p. 558.

Source not identified.

390. / M1, Āṣā Aṣṭ 15 (7), AG p. 419.

391. M1, Asā Ast 12 (3), AG p. 417.

The PSP text of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā concludes at this point.

393. M5, Vār Mārū 7, AG p. 1096.

Kabitt Bhāi Gurdās 503.

395. M5, Bāvan Akharī 52:1, AG p. 261.

396. GNDU (176a): 'upades'. 397. SRL (96a): 'sant mahant'.

398. M10, Bachitra Nāṭak 13:11, DG p. 71.

399. Nihakalankī Avatār 68, DG p. 575.

400. Pakhyān Charitra 405: 396, DG p. 1387.

#### Nand Lal Rahit-nama

401. PSP (48) omits 'mati gurū kī laiņī'.

402. SRL (97a): 'usatrā nahī lāvaņā'.

403. GNDU (196b) and PSP (48): 'prasadi'.

404. SRL (98a): 'singh'.

405. SRL (98b): 'khotī'. PSP (49): 'kuhatrī'.

406. SRL (99a): 'ikādasī dā brat rakhe tā lakh brahaman nū jivāvānu phal hotā hai. ate lakh gau pun kare ta bhi barobar pun nahi.'

407. *PSP* (49): 'sau guṇā'.

408. The first line appears to be a misquoted version of M4, Asa Chhant 9, AG p. 444. The second line is a misquoted version of M4, Nat Nārāin Ast 4 (5), AG p.982. The complete Nat Nārāin couplet appears in a misquoted form below.

The portion of the text from 'jo gurabhai nu' to 'sabhe kam ras hoe' appears at a later point in the PSP text (50-51). The material incorporated in this portion is recorded in a different order in the PSP version.

410. SRL (99b) added: 'kalayan hovaigi'.

411. SRL (100a): 'bhed chāl kiā hai jo aukhī jāgā āvadī hai tā dukhī hokar kise kise ko manate han.' PSP (50): 'kiā jo aukhī ghaţī āvadī hai tā bhedā dā iyaţu jādā nahī.'

412. SRL (100b): 'aval datan karai'. 413. PSP (49) inserts 'aradās pāvai'.

414. PSP (50): 'khāvaṇā'.

415. SRL (101a) added 'ate kalajug mahā prabak hai'.

416. GNDU (203b): 'na manaiga'.

417. Source not identified.

418. *PSP* (51): 'sabh kāraj es ke sidh hoe. kiujo guramukhī bāt aisī hai. ate manamukhī bāt auru bahut hai.'

419. Source not identified.

420. M4, Nat Nārāin Aşt 4 (5), AG p. 982.

421. SRL (102b): 'vāhigurū jī'.

422. PSP (51): 'lāhā'.

423. PSP (71) adds: 'vadī mān kari dekhaņī, hān dī bhain kar dekhaņī.'

424. GNDÙ (206a) inserts 'aj kal tirī srovat ladīdī ko kar vīchār'. PSP (51): 'aju kali terī dhok ladīdī hai dekh kar bīchār'.

425. SRL (103b) omitted the salutation.

426. *PSP* (52): 'jo sikh gurū kā hovai so sabad mannai. gurū khālasā is thīn sivāi horu pratīti nahīn karanī.'

427. The PSP text (52) terminates at this point.

## THE RAHIT-NAMA OF CHAUPA SINGH

By the grace of the Eternal One, the True Guru

The text which follows is the Rahit [or pattern of conduct] prescribed by the Satguru. What is the Rahit? The Granth Sahib tells us:1

If one follows the Rahit that disease [which is separation from God]

progressively diminishes.<sup>2</sup>
The prescription which is followed in order to remedy this disease is called the Rahit. The Granth Sahib also declares:

The true Rahit resides within the man which is true.3

Such is the Rahit which the Guru prescribes. As the Granth Sahib testifies:

He who observes this Rahit dwells in God's presence.4

And so he who would be a Gursikh<sup>5</sup> must earnestly study the Rahit, this Rahit which brings joy to the Guru. [He must study it and he must also practise it.] One of the Sants in the Granth Sahib [warns us]:

I have observed how (many people] talk endlessly [of pious deeds], but there is no joy to be derived from their actual conduct (rahit).6

There are many who claim to be Gurmukhs<sup>7</sup>, but very few have actually laid hold of the Guru's Rahit. A Gursikh, however, must study the Rahit and keep it always in mind.

\* \*

- 1. In the early morning the Gursikh, whether Kes-dhari or Sahaj-dhari<sup>8</sup>, should bathe or [at least] perform the five ablutions. Let him then recite  $Japj\bar{i}$  five times. According to Guru Ram Das he who recites  $Japj\bar{i}$  five times will acquire the radiance of [true] enlightenment. Thereafter let him recite whatever  $b\bar{a}n\bar{i}$  he may know by heart. Having completed this recitation he should join his palms<sup>11</sup> and recite Ardas. He should then proceed to the dharamsala and join the congregation of Sikhs. Let him take whatever he can afford [as an offering. There] he should prostrate himself of and make an offering of flowers, fruit, a coin or a cowrie.
- 2. The Gursikh should then turn to whatever daily occupation is appropriate to the status conferred on him by the Guru  $(v\bar{a}hagur\bar{u})$ . When it is time to eat give a portion of your food to someone else, as you are able to afford. Invite another Sikh to sit with you in the place where you prepare your food [and share whatever you have with him]. This is what the Guru means when he says in the Granth Sahib:

He who earns his living and gives some to others, he, Nanak, is the man who has found the true path. 17

3. At dusk the Guru's Sikh should participate in the Sodar Rahirās. <sup>18</sup> If he cannot visit a dharamsala he should recite [Sodar Rahirās] at his own residence. After he has had his evening meal he should proceed to a dharamsala and share in evening worship with the congregation of Sikhs [gathered there]. He should sit [with them] to hear the scriptures expounded and to join in kirtan and religious discourse. <sup>19</sup> The Granth Sahib declares:

[Remembrance of God] during the first watch of the night is [like the fragrance of] flowers, and during the last watch of the night [like the sweetness of] fruit. He who remains awake shall receive the blessing of God. 20

- 4. The Gursikh should then return home. If he is a married man he should not have sexual relations with his wife during either the first or the last watch [of the night]. Between [the first and the last] there are two which can be used for pleasure.
- 5. During the last [watch] of the night he should arise, clean his teeth, 21 and bathe or [at least]

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perform the five ablutions. If he has had sexual relations he must certainly bathe, using either cold or hot water.<sup>22</sup> [Under such circumstances the five ablutions are insufficient.] Then let him lovingly recite the works of the Guru. As the Granth Sahib says:

During the fourth watch [of the night, in the early hours] of the morning a longing surges within the spirit. Affections turn to rivers [where, bathing in the early-morning waters, the pious find that] truth enters their understanding and the words [which they utter in praise of Godl.<sup>23</sup>

- 6. A Gursikh should have no dealings with members of the five reprobate groups.<sup>24</sup> He should not even speak to any of them. [The five reprobate groups are]: (i) The Minas. (ii) The followers of Ram Rai. (iii) The followers of Dhir Mal. (iv) The Masands. (v) Those who acknowledge the authority of the Masands.<sup>25</sup> It is true that some of these five reprobate groups are members of the Guru's own family. [In spite of their relationship to him they have become his enemies], evil men who spread vicious slander. Trees which produce flowers, fruit, leaves and [healthy] branches also produce thorns.<sup>26</sup> These [reprobate relatives] are the thorns [on the Guru's tree].
- 7. A Gursikh should not drink intoxicating liquor. As the Granth Sahib says: He who drinks dislodges his reason and becomes demented. Losing all power of distinguishing his own rights from another's he is chastised by the Master. He who drinks becomes heedless of his Master and thus when he appears in [his Master's] court he must suffer the punishment [which is his due]. As far as you are able avoid all contact with the wine of falsehood.<sup>27</sup>
- [7a. (There are five companions which the Gursikh should spurn and) five which he should embrace: kachh,  $kirap\bar{a}n$ , kes, the sacred scripture  $(b\bar{a}n\bar{\iota})$ , and the congregation of the faithful  $(s\bar{a}dh\ sangat\ )$ . If a Gursikh has the opportunity to deal in tobacco he should reject it. A Gursikh, even though he be a Sahaj-dhari, should neither smoke tobacco nor take snuff.]<sup>28</sup>
- 8. A Gursikh should wash his hands and his feet before eating. He should rinse his mouth by gargling and then proceed to the kitchen (langar). He should show respect to his food [as to a gift of the Guru] and he should not talk while eating. If anyone comes while he is eating he should not stand up. Before he begins to eat he should pronounce [the blessing]: 'Satnam Vahiguru.'<sup>29</sup> It is the Giver of Life who bestows food [on us and because it is His gift our] sustenance should be treated with the same [respect] as the Guru.
- 9. As the Granth Sahib says, 'Food is the Creator's gift.'30
- 10. A Gursikh should never touch a Muslim woman. <sup>31</sup> He should never become friendly with a Muslim, nor should he ever trust his word. Never drink water from the hands of a Muslim and do not sleep in the company of Muslims. Never trust the oath of a Muslim. Do not be influenced by opinions uttered by a Muslim, nor by his speech or conversation. When seated in any gathering do not eat the food of Muslims. Whenever [Sikhs] gather to eat together they should sit in a single line. Bear in mind that Muslims have no respect for the religious obligation [acknowledged by Hindus and Sikhs, neither for] caste nor for the cow. The command of the Gurus is 'Fight the barbarians (malechh), destroy them all !'<sup>32</sup>
- 11. A Gursikh should not stare at another's wife, and he should [certainly] never have intercourse with any woman other [than his own wife]. 32 Let him get married. Let him do so according to the custom of his caste and lineage so that no stigma may be attached to his name and no one speak ill of him.
- 12. A Gursikh should not kill female babies. Have nothing to do with a Sikh who slays female infants  $(kur\bar{\imath}-m\bar{a}r)$ . 34
- 13. Do not exact a price for [your own] daughter [when she is given in marriage, and accept

- nothing when the daughter of a dependent is wed.] As the Granth Sahib says:

  Regard the daughter of a jajmān as your own, for if you consume the grain [proffered by her father the opportunity of salvation afforded by] your birth will be forfeited.<sup>35</sup>
- 14. This pronouncement was delivered to a Brahman (purohit). Parents who thus demand [a bride-price] will go inexorably to hell.
- 15. A Gursikh should not give his daughter [in marriage] to a man who has his hair cut  $(mon\bar{a})$ , <sup>36</sup> though he may take a girl [for a marriage arrangement in his family] from a  $mon\bar{a}$  [father. <sup>37</sup> In such instances the girl] should receive initiation.
- 16. [A marriage may be contracted with a  $mon\bar{a}$  if he agrees to accept initiation, with its attendant obligations, before marriage.] Have the Sikh girl and her Sahaj-dhari [bridegroom] join their hands in marriage<sup>38</sup> and then initiate them<sup>39</sup>[as follows]. Wash the Granth Sahib lectern [with water] in which confectionery has been dissolved. Recite five stanzas of  $Japj\bar{i}$ , followed by five stanzas of the Anand, <sup>40</sup> and give them buttermilk to drink.<sup>41</sup>
- 17. A Gursikh should have business dealings only with other Sikhs. He should associate only with those who [in belief and behaviour] are sound beyond all reproach. The Granth Sahib testifies:

Lay hold of [Him who is] the origin [of all truth]; associate only with those who have similarly [apprehended Him]. 42

- 18. A Gursikh should associate with poor Sikh[s for thus] he binds himself to the Guru.
- 19. A Kes-dhari should never pour strained water on his head.<sup>43</sup>
- 20. A Gursikh should not observe the custom of wearing a sacred thread or a frontal sect-mark  $(tikk\bar{a})$ . The Kes-dhari's sacred thread and tikka are his kes. For a Sahaj-dhari, [however, the practice] is acceptable. He may do as he chooses.
- 21. If a Gursikh arranges a marriage [for his daughter] the person whom she is to marry may wear the sacred thread during the marriage ceremony [if that has been his custom] and then subsequently remove it at some convenient time.
- 22. A Gursikh should render service to other Sikhs with all his heart and without hesitation.
- 23. The Gursikh should regard a pauper's mouth as the Guru's alms-box.
- 24. Any Gursikh who is a Brahman should receive twice the service [and consideration that other Sikhs receive. He who renders such service] shall earn a double reward. A like status should also be bestowed on the religious teacher<sup>44</sup> who comes to expound the Guru's teachings.
- 25. If for any reason a Gursikh is in distress he should arise during the last watch of the night and complete five recitations of  $Japj\bar{\iota}$ . He should look to the Guru  $(v\bar{a}hagur\bar{u})$  [and proceeding to the dharamsala he should offer his petition to him] in the sympathetic presence of [his fellow] Sikhs. 45 Let him provide whatever service 46 he is able to offer [to the dharamsala and the sangat, and he will find that] the Guru grants him peace. The Granth Sahib says:

When a Gursikh has food to eat the Satguru shares the satisfaction.<sup>47</sup>
This is the Guru's [own] testimony. He who provides for [the needs of other] Sikhs brings joy to the Guru.

26. And so when the Satguru finds joy in the satisfaction [which comes from the service of a Sikh] how can [that Sikh's] distress continue?

- 27. If a Gursikh recognises [and responds to the needs of another] Gursikh [his benevolence], like seed sown in fertile ground, will bring him his reward.
- 28. He should not sow in polluted soil. The testimony of a Sant is:

  How can one reap a profit from seed sown in saline soil?<sup>48</sup>
- 29. The Granth Sahib also says:

He who is still confused at heart should not be regarded as a true renunciant, and he who gives to him, Nanak, shares in the same confusion.<sup>49</sup>

30. And again:

The Khatri who recognises the right field and sows his seed therein is the one who wins approval in [his Master's] court. 50

The fields which this Khatri must cultivate are those which grow the produce of sin [or the fruits of virtue]. The Gursikh must harvest [these fields]. He should therefore consider the difference between good and bad crops, between good and bad places [to grow them], because the state of his mind and understanding must depend on the food which he eats. A devout Sikh should not accept an invitation [to dine with] an apostate (patit) Sikh. As the Granth Sahib says:

[Hypocritical Muslims] repeat their daily prayers though they consume other men's sustenance; [and hypocritical Hindus] who wield a [butcher's] knife [piously] wear their sacred thread. Brahmans who [sanctimoniously] sound the conch-shell in their houses, are nevertheless victims of the same [crass] appetites [as those who are unashamedly worldly].51

- 31. A Gursikh should not associate with the following eight [kinds of people] and should not accept their teachings.
  - (i) Muslims<sup>52</sup>

(ii) Yogis<sup>53</sup>

- (iii) Those who do not wear turbans<sup>54</sup>
- (iv) Those who shave their heads<sup>55</sup>
- (v) Mendicants who mat their hair in coarse tresses<sup>56</sup>
- (vi) Naked sadhus who coat themselves with ashes 57
- (vii) Faqirs<sup>58</sup>

(viii) Those who [arrogantly] assume spiritual authority<sup>59</sup>

Such people will instruct you in their own [false] beliefs and destroy [the truth which, as a Sikh], you previously held.

32. If a Gursikh serves as a  $puj\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}$  [in a dharamsala]<sup>60</sup> he should take nothing from those who are descendants of the Guru[s]<sup>61</sup> and he should steal [from no one. If he does] he will completely corrupt his own mind and understanding. He should never be arrogant, deceitful, or wanton. He should never be lustful nor prone to anger, neither a slanderer nor one puffed up with pride. The Granth Sahib says:

All manner of medicine can be prepared, but what cure can there be for the slanderer?62

33. The Granth Sahib also says:

Be not deceitful, heedless man, for in the end your spirit must render an account [of your deeds] 63 [He should, however, receive his due support.] Any functionary [appointed to serve in a dharamsala] is entitled to receive a portion of the offerings [made there].

34. A Gursikh should not assume such titles as Bhai<sup>64</sup> or Mahant.<sup>65</sup> The Granth Sahib says:

He who claims virtue for himself is the person whom virtue shuns.<sup>66</sup>

Do not be a hypocrite.

- 35. It is pride, arrogance, and hypocrisy of this sort which has destroyed the masands.
- 36. If any Gursikh should be in a position to provide help or advice he should ensure that young Sikhs are guided to the ways of the devout, not into futile or irresponsible behaviour. The Granth Sahib warns:

He who fences [stolen goods] shall have his hands cut off, for thus is justice administered.67

37. When a Gursikh sits down with other [Sikhs they constitute a sangat and] their conversation should concern the teachings of the Guru. The Granth Sahib says:

Wherever the community of believers gathers, there God is praised in song and poetry.<sup>68</sup>

38. A Gursikh, whether Kes-dhari or Sahaj-dhari, should never abandon his own Guru and follow another, however exalted the other may seem to be. Whenever some other [guru] offers advice or instruction [the Gursikh] should remember [his real loyalty], regardless of whether the other's teachings seem true or false. The Granth Sahib says:

Ignore the Salguru and all manner of disease must spread. 69

39. A Gursikh should never cause another Sikh distress. A Sikh [who is present] can inflict greater harm than the [absent] Guru. [As the Guru] says in the Granth Sahib:

He whom I bind can be freed by a bhagat, but he who is bound by a bhagat even I cannot free. 70

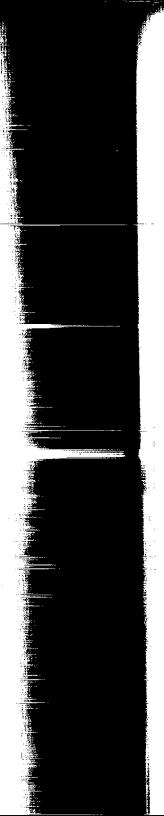
- 40. A Gursikh must be benevolent and sympathetic [towards all] when he enters a dharamsala, 71 filled with a spirit of generosity and never with meanness. He should not be the kind of person who continues to accumulate wealth [without thought for the needs of others].
- 41. A Gursikh should reverence and worship  $(p\bar{u}j\bar{a}\ kare\ )$  [his] sword.<sup>72</sup> The Guru himself worshipped [his sword and his followers ought therefore to do likewise].
- 42. Before eating a meal a Gursikh should set aside [a portion of the food as] an offering [to the Guru].
- 43. Whenever a Gursikh makes offerings or observes a holy day in honour of the Guru he should do so humbly and without ostentation. Do not demean yourself or act in an absurd manner. The Granth Sahib says:

If you seek for yourself that which is good perform deeds of charity and assume a lowly name. 73

44. The ordinary Gursikh should never be a prey to fear, lust, pride, avarice, or violence. He should not cherish wordly things, and he should always be in complete control of his temper. The Granth Sahib says:

Violence, worldly affections, avarice and anger are four streams of fire. Fall into them, and you shall be consumed, Nanak. Salvation is by the Satguru's grace. 74

45. [For a funeral the following procedure should be observed.] Although a [deceased] Gursikh may have been a Sahaj-dhari his head should not be shaved [after death]. When the death occurs of a relative who is a Sikh arrange for kirtan to be sung. Take as much prasad so you can afford [to the residence of the deceased] and distribute it there after washing [the corpse]. Let there be no lamentation. Perform whatever rites you deem appropriate. The ashes of the deceased should be deposited in the Ganga. Katha and kirtan should continue for as many days as [the family of the deceased] can afford. [Let them continue] for eleven, thirteen, fifteen or seventeen days. Arrange for the Granth Sahib to be read [at a pace which will bring] a complete reading to an end [9] [on whatever day the family can afford]. Perform the customary rites and make charitable offerings as convention dictates. Invite others to gather in memory of the deceased and provide food for as many Sikhs as you are able to afford. Have prayer offered, beseeching that the deceased may dwell in the company of the [departed] faithful.



- 46. After [a year has passed] a Gursikh should hold a śrādh ceremony<sup>81</sup> and serve food [in memory of his deceased father]. If the deceased was a Sikh the food should be given to Sikhs. Give gifts to the steward of the dharamsala.
- 47. In memory of the deceased a meal should be served to the dharamsala steward and to needy Sikhs.
- 48. From the proceeds of his labours let the Gursikh put aside a tenth part for the Guru and use it to feed other Sikhs for the sake of the Guru.
- 49. A poor Sikh once laid a petition before the divine and all-powerful Guru [Gobind Singh, saying]: 'My Lord, I have arranged a marriage for my daughter [and must now face the expense involved in having the marriage performed]. You know my financial circumstances. [I have nothing].'
- 50. 'With whom have you arranged the marriage?' asked [the Guru]. 'With a Sikh,' he answered.
- 51. [Hearing this the Guru] instructed his treasurer, Dharam Chand, to go [to his treasury] and make payment of the expenses incurred by the marriage ceremony. Dharam Chand did as he was commanded and the marriage expenses were thus met from the [Guru's] exchequer. The Sikh had asked for nothing more [than the amount required to perform his daughter's marriage and because he showed no greed] he received all that he needed from the Guru's resources.
- 52. A Gursikh should not give others food which he has himself already tasted.
- 53. A Gursikh may remove his [body] hair with scissors if he is a Sahaj-dhari, but he must leave his facial hair untouched. [Do not touch the face] because that is what people see [and that is how a man is recognised as a Sikh].
- 54. A Kes-dhari Gursikh should never remove his body hair and [both Kes-dhari and Sahaj-dhari] should leave their pubic hair untouched if living as family men (grahast). Do not let [your hair] remain filthy.
- 55. If a Gursikh comes into conflict with another Sikh in his business dealings or for any other reason he should seek the other's forgiveness before sleeping.
- 56. If a Gursikh vows to donate anything in return for the divine granting of a favour he should duly discharge his vow, paying as much as he is able and withholding nothing.<sup>83</sup>
- 57. A Gursikh should neither criticise another Sikh nor quarrel with him, and he should be neither deceitful nor mean. If he observes that the other has a [satisfying] occupation, that he is prospering and that his family [is in happy circumstances] he should be pleased, not [jealously] upset. As the Granth Sahib says:

Let me spurn envy, turning instead to deeds of goodness.84

58. He who harbours slanderous intent will be exposed, destroying [by his infamy] whatever merit he may previously have earned.85

Nothing can redeem the slanderer!86

- 59. A Gursikh should never divulge another's secrets, nor should he betray another's trust.87
- 60. When a son is born in a Gursikh's house the first thing to pass his lips (gurati) should be

water of initiation sanctified by the feet of five Sikhs. 88 Until he has been [thus dedicated as one who is to be] a Gursikh he should not be publicly displayed.

- 61. If he is to be brought up as a Kes-dhari the rite of sword-baptism<sup>89</sup> should be administered as soon as the mother has completed her period of post-natal impurity.<sup>90</sup> His hair should be left uncut from birth. Let him be given a name from the Granth Sahib. Having performed the ceremony bathe [the child] in curds.<sup>91</sup>
- 62. A Gursikh should not fight or scuffle with another person, [for in so doing he may sully and defile his kes]. Ensure that the dignity of your kes is protected.
- 63. A Gursikh should not eat by himself when he has plenty of food. He should share it with other Sikhs.
- 64. The person who prepares a hand-written volume [of the Granth Sahib] should not do so in order to sell it. Accept whatever may be offered [but do not tout it as merchandise]. When things are sold [the transaction is a commercial one and] any personal relationship [between vendor and purchaser] is destroyed. He should accept with gladness [whatever he is given, just as the donor] should give with gladness. The Granth Sahib declares:

A curse on those who write the divine Name and sell it [for profit]. If one's field is laid waste what hope is there of harvesting grain? 92

65. A Gursikh should be strictly loyal to his own dharma and should not endeavour to follow another's [way]. 93 The Granth Sahib tells [us]:

Recognise none save the Guru!94

66. A Gursikh should never be remiss in rendering assistance to anyone [in need]. Let respect, kindness and love abound. [True] learning will produce this [happy condition]. As the Granth Sahib says:

Meditate on (true) knowledge and you will become a benefactor [of all mankind].95

- 67. If within a Gursikh's village some other Sikh is to be involved in a ceremony [either] as a bridegroom at a wedding or [as eldest son at his father's] funeral, that Gursikh should instruct [the young man] in the Guru's teachings. This he should do prior to the giving of gifts<sup>96</sup> [in the case of a marriage] and prior to the turban ceremony<sup>97</sup> [in the case of a funeral].
- 68. If a Sikh of the Guru is able to act as a scribe he should copy the Granth Sahib and present the volume to the Sikhs [of his locality]. Let it be an offering of love, [not a task performed for money].

Beautiful is the hand which unceasingly inscribes the praises of God. 98

- Granth Sahib

69. What manner of Gursikh should be appointed to officiate as a dharamsalia? [The first requirement is that] he should not be a man with wife or family. [100] He should be free from avarice, a humble person, celibate, truthful, one who cares for others. He should be patient, generous, kind, ascetic, one who praises rather than criticizes, a careful observer of the Rahit, a man without envy, discreet, alert, pure, one who serves, an unselfish person, [101] one who will attend to the needs of a Sikh from another locality. He who possesses these qualities will be a compassionate man [and as such worthy to officiate at a dharamsala].

Though I be a sinful man grant me a place in the company of sants and dharamsalias. 102
- Granth Sahib

70. The Sikh residents of a village or locality should assume the responsibility of providing the support for a Sikh dharamsalia possessing these qualifications. Whenever a ceremony [such as a marriage or a funeral] is held [the dharamsalia] should include in it several prayers of petition

to the Guru. [The local Sikhs of the area should] provide regular sustenance for [their] dharamsalia.

71. There should be no women's quarters in a dharamsala. The Gursikh who serves in the house of the Guru should be poor sin the sense that he should be a humble servant, devoid of worldly attachments and property]. He should certainly not be the kind of useless person who neglects the conduct of divine worship.

They who are born in the Kaliyuga, Nanak, have demons for daughters and sons, and wives who are supreme [demons]. 103

- Granth Sahib

- 72. The Gursikh [who serves as a dharamsalia] should instruct the sons of [other] Sikhs [in the contents of] the Granth Sahib. [He should teach them its] hymns, the compositions of the Gurus, [and how to sing] kirtan. [In so doing, however,] he should not set himself up as a pir or a masand. 104 Regard [all fellow-Sikhs] as members of the Guru's family [and thus as your own relatives]. Do not think ill of them.
- 73. The Gursikh is [himself] a learner [and as such] is called to good deeds, service, courtesy and love. Treat [other Sikhs] with the same respect that you would bestow on your father.
- 74. The Sikh who despises his own son is [no better than] a cow-killer. He should not be regarded as a Sikh.
- 75. A Gursikh should not look with evil intent on another Sikh's children, women, or property.
- 76. The Gursikh's sacred duty is to serve other Sikhs with love and affection.
- 77. A needy Gursikh who receives food from a Sikh home should accept it as if it were amrit.
- 78. When a Gursikh gathers the first of a new crop whether fruit, grain, or anything else he should have another Sikh eat some before he takes any himself.
- 79. He who becomes a Sikh of the Guru should never strike another Sikh; and he who actually kills a Sikh will go to hell. [Such people] will be destroyed as were the tribes of the Kurus and the Pandavas.

They whose Master [Krishna] once dwelt in their midst 105

- Granth Sahib

The fact that they killed others was the cause of their own destruction. [He who follows their example] must eventually be cut down. [Amongst Sikhs] there is but one caste (gotra) and one lineage, the single lineage descended from the Guru. [All Sikhs therefore belong to the same family.l

- 80. Gursikhs who are employed by a Muslim administration 106 should be forgiven their inability to observe the Rahit. There are, however, three exceptions 107 [to this general indulgence.] These are: (i) Killing daughters. (ii) Shaving the head or beard. (iii) Smoking the huqqa. 109 They should commit none of these. Other lapses can be forgiven if an offering of money is made [but these three are unpardonable]. If any Sikh has [administrative] responsibilities [of this kind] to perform others should do their best to avoid placing obstacles in his wav. 110
- 81. A Gursikh should be neither a Sufi nor an Aghori. 111
- 82. If one who flouts the Rahit comes to a Gursikh seeking the Guru's protection he should not be turned away.

- #3. Gursikhs should show no sympathy towards [unrepentant] transgressors of the Rahit. 112 The worldly affections which people adopt are focussed on that which is transient.  $^{113}$ - Granth Sahib
- 164. If a Gursikh happens to be a sardar, a raja, or a wealthy merchant [and is thus able to maintain a retinue] he should hire none but a Sikh as his cook. He should never employ miyone who smokes, 114 wears a cap, cuts his hair, steals, commits adultery, 115 gambles, or In any other wayl violates the Rahit.
- 85. A Gursikh should never turn away [from the Guru]. He should spurn neither the Guru nor the [Guru's] Sikhs.

The face turned [from the Guru] is a face corrupted. 116

- Granth Sahib

He who turns away from the Satguru finds no respite from doubt. Neither earth nor the heavens afford him shelter; [stricken] he writhes in the dust. 117 - Granth Sahib

- 86. A Gursikh should burn wood in his kitchen, not dung. If [sufficient] wood is not available use equal parts wood [and dung].
- 87. A Gursikh should not be ignorant of the Guru's mantra. 118 He who is without the Guru's mantra (guramantar) must squander his life. The fool, for sure, is no better than a crow or a pig. 119 - Granth Sahib
- 88. Each Gursikh should receive baptism (pāhul) before his hair 120 has grown to its full length. It is the Guru's will that [every] Sikh should practise service and love.
- 89. If a Gursikh does not know a particular person he should have no [intimate] dealings with him and should put no trust in him. Always be careful.
- 90. When a Gursikh administers baptism he should observe the ritual formulated in accordance with the Guru's instructions. A handful [of water] should be given five times [to the neophyte] to sip. [The water should also be sprinkled onto his] head and eyes. [The initiated Sikh should then declare]: 'Hail to the Guru's Khalsa! Hail to the victory of the Guru!'121 [Finally the officiant should] invest [the initiate] with the mantra 'Sat nam '122 [and impart to himl the teachings of the Guru.
- 91. Any person who administers baptism must be a Sikh, one free from the sins of lust, anger, pride, deceit and idleness. He must be one who observes the Rahit and he should not be one who styles himself a guru.
- 92. A Gursikh should take care of his kes. He should comb it twice a day and he should wash it with curds. He should never touch it with dirty hands and should always protect it from insects. Be fastidious. [The kes is] the seal of the Guru and should be seen as the [outward] sign of adherence to his teachings.
- 93. He who maintains the kes without taking [the Guru's] baptism (pāhul) should be treated as a mere mimic<sup>123</sup> who knows not the Guru. All his clever words will be false.

They who without knowing the Guru claim all manner of [divine] understanding will be humbled in the court of God. 124

- Granth Sahib

94. Unity and friendship should be preserved amongst Sikhs. If ever offence is caused

conciliate the Sikh [who is thus offended].

- 95. The Guru's Sikh should show deference to other Sikhs. Practise love and trust [each other]. It is the sacred duty (dharam) of all to greet others with affection.
- 96. There are four blessings which follow when Sikh meets Sikh. The first is that the scriptures are read and sung. The second is that it provides an opportunity to explore the deeper issues of the Sikh faith. The third is that Sikhs [who gather together acquire a better] understanding of the Rahit. The fourth is that each will [be encouraged to] give alms according to his means.
- 97. Whenever a Gursikh joins other Sikhs [at any gathering] he should choose his seat with care. Sit in a line, never in front of another Sikh. There are two harmful consequences which result from sitting in front of another. The first is that you lose the respect of the person who has to sit behind you; and the second is that your own sense of self-importance is inflated.
- 98. A Gursikh should lay the shoes of his fellow-Sikhs in a straight line [at sangat meetings, By thus handling shoes] he is kept humble.
- 99. If a Gursikh wants to be a good Sikh, or if he aspires to leadership, let him serve other Sikhs.

The status of servant is conferred on him to whom the [Guru's] faithful followers show grace. 125
- Granth Sahib

100. A Gursikh should never trust a woman, neither his own nor another's. Never entrust them with a secret. Regard them as the embodiment of deceit.

Sinful men, licentious and stupid, act as their women command.

Lust abounds; thus do impure men take orders from their women and act accordingly. 126

- Granth Sahib

- 101. If a Gursikh encounters a needy Sikh [he should provide his] new acquaintance [with hospitality]. If possible he should have his clothes washed, supply hair-washing facilities, and serve him food to the best of his ability. By so doing he will earn merit to offset any offences which he may commit.
- 102. A Gursikh should never commit theft or adultery, nor should he ever indulge in gambling.

Thieves, adulterers and gamblers will be crushed in [God's] oil-press. 127

- Granth Sahib

- 103. If the Guru's Sikh is engaged in any activity he will always do it as he would in the presence of the Guru. Put no trust in worldly wealth  $(m\bar{a}y\bar{a})$ , <sup>128</sup> for as the Granth Sahib says, ' $M\bar{a}y\bar{a}$  has consumed many homes.' <sup>129</sup>
- 104. A Gursikh should not talk while eating or distributing food, for in so doing he will deposit spittle on the food. Do not be consciously partial [in your dealings with others]. Do not be one-eyed  $(k\bar{a}n\bar{a})^{130}$
- 105. A Gursikh or Sikhni should wash his or her hands before kneading dough. Finger-nails should not be allowed to grow long, nor should there be any talking [while preparing a meal]. Show proper respect to the food.
- 106. After defecating a Gursikh should use earth to cleanse [his anus]. He should take care to keep himself unpolluted.
- 107. A Gursikh should treat the descendants of the Gurus with respect and likewise places

associated with the Gurus. He should also show respect to all who serve the Guru, whether paid or unpaid; and he should reverence the Gurus' writings. All whom the Master has called his own should be treated with honour and esteem. Even the Guru's dogs should be respected. As the Granth Sahib says:

He whom you have taken and attached to your [protecting] hem gains access to your court and finds a place therein  $^{132}$ 

- 108. If ever a Gursikh has to travel for any reason, whether in his own home territory or beyond, he should offer Ardas to his Guru [for protection] before departing.
- 109. When the Gursikh returns from a journey within his own area or beyond, from near or far, from travel over a short distance or a lengthy one, he should proceed directly to the dharamsala and prostrate himself. <sup>133</sup> [He should not tarry at his house.] If possible he should merely call there and then go straight on [to the dharamsala] to offer worship  $(p\bar{u}j\bar{a})$  [in thanksgiving for a safe return].
- 110. If a Gursikh has dealings with a non-Sikh while he is away he should invite [the non-Sikh] to join him in prayer.
- 111. If a Gursikh visits a place of pilgrimage (tirath) 134 or a gurdwara 135 he should, if possible, avoid the necessity of accepting support from offerings [which others have made. On the contrary], he should himself give something in order that somebody else may be fed. [True merit, however, consists in] neither thinking nor doing evil [and in acting generously]. If another Sikh comes to [a Gursikh's] house he should be fed as handsomely as the host can afford. The Granth Sahib tells us:

[The merit to be earned by] pilgrimage, austerities, [deeds of] mercy, or alms-giving is,

if one receives it, worth no more than a sesame seed. 136
Though the sesame seed may weigh a maund [it makes no difference. There is no particular virtue inherent in] a pilgrimage-centre. Sin committed there [is still sin and] alms given there [are no more effective than those given elsewhere].

- 112. If a Gursikh seeking a particular favour or blessing leaves his village to visit a gurdwara or a pilgrimage-centre other Sikhs from his village who accompany him should accept responsibility for his provisions. If none accompany him then as far as possible all [other Sikhs whom he encounters] should assume the responsibility as their means permit. If a village gives the pilgrim nothing it will thereby demonstrate that it is as useless as the simmal tree, giving shade but no fruit. 137
- 113.<sup>138</sup> The Gursikh who is born of a diseased harlot should not be despised. [If he is a true Gursikh] he will not practise the same immorality, nor will he encourage others to do so. [A true Gursikh] is pure and undefiled [regardless of his origins].
- 114. The vicious, unruly Sikh, however, is the offspring of a devil, one in whom all evils are manifest. Duplicity, fraud, perfidy, ingratitude, covetousness, lechery, false beliefs, theft, fornication, gambling, pride, base deceit and hypocrisy, lust, [uncontrolled] anger, unlawful deeds (harāmī) every conceivable vice will be found in such a person. If he happens to be a ruler he imposes an oppressive tyranny. He is a Sikh [merely] to outward appearances.

The poison of the colocynth, the [deadly] fruit of the ak, the thorn-apple and the neem-tree, Are in the heart and utterances of him who fails to behold you. 139

- Granth-Sahib

115. Gursikhs, however, will recognise the divine light [of the Guru's teachings] and will spurn false beliefs.

The counterfeit is regarded as pure and the pure ignored. A blind man is the

- Granth Sahib

116 The Sikh who mocks and abuses other Gursikhs should receive forgiveness if he seeks in humility. Innumerable sins can be forgiven if one stands penitently before a Sikh [congregation].

117. When a Gursikh sits with others [in a satsang] he should not talk too much. The Granth Sahib warns us:

He who fails to control his tongue will be struck down in the hereafter. 141

118. Another line from the Granth Sahib [makes the same point].

He who talks excessively in the assembly [of the devout] will be accounted a useless fellow. 142 [Instead] a Gursikh, when sitting with other Sikhs, should recite shabads, read passages from the scripture, and sing kirtan. Apart from this he should say nothing [in a religious assembly].

119. A Gursikh should never speak offensively. He should always speak with kindness and affection, as custom dictates.

Speech which earns respect is speech acceptable [to God]. 143

- Granth Sahib

A Gursikh should not bathe at a dhobi-ghat. 144

A Gursikh should sing the praises of God and eat his food in accordance with approved custom. [His food] will be undefiled only if he eats no more than he needs. [If he observes due restraint the nourishment which he takes will be as pure as] amrit, the food of the gods. A man's ration of food should be the amount required to fill his stomach. This much he should take. Anything more, however, will be poison. [It will be like] cattle fodder, impossible to digest and thus causing discomfort.

A Gursikh should restore the wayward to the path [of approved conduct and belief].

120. A Gursikh should perform kirtan before sleeping.

A Gursikh should have his marriage ceremonies performed by a Brahman. Let him thus observe the Guru's Rahit.

If possible a Gursikh should avoid drinking water from a leather bucket; and he should never take water from a Muslim. 145

A Gursikh should show compassion to all. [He should, however, exercise sensible discretion and] should avoid the kind of generosity which is open to misinterpretation.<sup>146</sup>

A Gursikh should never acquire degenerate ways. He should never associate with the perverse. He should not be dull and apathetic. He should follow none but his own [true] Guru, Let him search the Guru's works and let him reflect on what he reads in them.

121. If a Gursikh goes on a pilgrimage  $(ud\bar{a}s\bar{t})^{147}$  he should visit places associated with the Gurus.

Whatever a Gursikh may say should always be agreeable. Never speak bitter words which will cause distress.

Grieve no one's heart, for all [hearts] are precious pearls. 148

- Granth Sahib

In relationships between Sikhs each should act in accordance with [the distinctive prescriptions of] his own particular caste (*varan āsram*). Do not violate its established conventions. As the Tenth Master has written in the sacred scripture:

I am the son of a Khatri, not of a Brahman; how can I know the practice of austerities? How can I [a Khatri] evade the snares of this world by concentrating my mind on [the ascetic discipline of the Brahman]? Now, as my end draws near, I ask you graciously to hear my supplication, that when my life-span comes to its close I may die [a Khatri's] death in battle. 149

A Gursikh should expound his religious beliefs [to others, but] he should not discourse with

the immoral nor with Muslims. His discourse should be delivered with the patient dignity of the stately swan, not with the harshness of a crow. Be forgiving and patient. Discharge your religious obligations and give alms. 150

122. When a Gursikh takes baptism let him receive it from the hands of a scrupulous Sikh, one who is both devout and wise. [He who administers baptism] should not be one-eyed, bald, lame or a leper. He should not be a person given to filthy speech, nor should he be beardless. He should not be a criminal, a thief, a fornicator, a gambler, or an idler. The person taking baptism will share [the merits and demerits of] the deeds committed by the person from whose hands he receives the Guru's initiation, so make sure that you take it from a

A Gursikh, whether rich or poor, should instruct his relative[s] in the Guru's teachings and the duties which these teachings demand. If he is affluent he should ensure that his wife and family will be properly protected [in the event of his death]. He should always bear his age in mind, noting how much of his life has elapsed and how much still lies ahead. The body passes through four stages: childhood, youth, old age, and death. What hope, then, does life offer? Prepare for the hereafter. [As a man grows old] he should transfer his various problems and concerns to his relatives - to his sons, grandsons, and [younger] brothers - while he himself devotes more time to attending the satsang. [He should keep himself pure amidst the world's impurities] as the lotus growing in [filthy] water [yet retains its beauty; and he should remain firm in the belief that] the Guru's teachings shall spread throughout the entire world. [As a man grows older] he perceives the nature of the Guru's purpose. Worldly affections grow dimmer [as divine love waxes strong]. A Gursikh should mix and mingle with others. He should not try to evade their company.

123. A Gursikh should never fall prey to anger while eating, giving charity, or singing hymns. Anger pollutes like a Chandal <sup>151</sup> and the company of [such] Chandals should thus be avoided. As the Tenth Master has said:

As dharma succumbs to anger or as illusion is dispersed by true wisdom, so have the demons fled from battle with Chandi.  $^{152}$ 

A Gursikh should associate with Sikhs of exemplary character in order that he may assimilate their qualities of love, trust, piety and wisdom. He should join for worship and religious discourse with others who are devoted [to the Guru's teachings].

If there is no customer for a valuable article its price will be cheap. 153

- Granth Sahib

124. When, therefore, the Gursikh seeks religious discourse he should associate with those who love the Guru's Word. The reward for doing so will be:

But if one finds a customer for this valuable article it will sell for a wondrous price. 154

Granth Sahib

A Gursikh should not engage in religious discourse or conversation with a non-Sikh.

Do not expound the Guru's teachings in another's house. Thus the Satguru commands. 155

- Granth Sahib

125. A Gursikh should praise and glorify his Guru. He should never criticize [him], nor should he ever prompt others to do so. He should never speak evil [of him], nor offer any encouragement to others who may be so inclined. As a Sant has said:

He who does not openly confess his Guru, why does he remain with him as a disciple? 156
For as long as he has breath a Gursikh should discharge the obligations of the one [true] dharma and recite the words of the one [true] scripture. He should read, hear, and believe the words of the Guru, for as the Granth Sahib declares:

He who obeys the divine command wins approval and gains access to the palace of his Lord. 157

126. He who calls himself a Sikh and [claims to] accept the Word of the Granth Sahib as Guru, yet remains enslaved to worldly possessions  $(m\bar{a}y\bar{a})$ , is described by the Granth Sahib [as follows]:

He who spurns the Guru's command is a wayward and ignorant person, deceived by maya, 158 In his quest for understanding a Sikh should search the Guru's Word [by attentively reading or listening to it] and should regularly meditate on it. Thus is a knowledge of Sikh belief (sikhī)

He who has meditated on the Guru's [Word] has acquired [true] knowledge. 159

- Granth Sahib

127. A Gursikh should not listen to songs in a spirit of carnal pleasure, nor should he sing them in this way.

He who fails to comprehend the beauty of the Guru's songs, and thus takes no delight in hearing them, forfeits his chance of acquiring true wisdom, 160

- Granth Sahib

128. The Guru's Sikh should not succumb to the seduction of worldly music and songs. He should not even listen [to them].

Abandon [worldly] music and songs; serve [only] God and thus earn honour in [his] court 161

129. A Gursikh should give heed only to works which are actually by the Gurus and, in the case of stories, <sup>162</sup> only to those which concern them.

Apart from the Satguru's (compositions) all  $b\bar{a}n\bar{t}$  is spurious.

Those who recite it are spurious; likewise those who hear it and those who propagate it.  $^{163}$ - Granth Sahib

130. A Gursikh should bear malice towards [none], neither to a money-lender nor his agent, to neither a servant nor to his master. Think evil of no one.

Think no evil of another, for thus, brother and friend, you shall yourself escape misery. 164 -Granth Sahib

- 131. After reading a shabad from the Granth Sahib, an extract [from a janam-sakhi], or the Sodar Rahirās liturgy 165 a Gursikh should touch [the ground or floor] with his forehead. 166 While reading [from the Granth Sahib] he should not rest his forehead on his hands. Reading a portion [of the Granth Sahib is like] being 'touched by the [Guru's] pāras', the philosopher's stone in which there is no impurity. 167
- 132. When a Gursikh sits in a dharamsala in the presence of the Granth Sahib and in the company of faithful Sikhs, he should feel not pride for any virtue, skill, wealth, or youthfulness [which he may possess]. As the Granth Sahib says, in the words of a Sant:

Pride has rotted [even] ascetics and sages; pride has destroyed them all! 168

- 133. When a Gursikh concludes [a reading of the Sodar] Rahirās he should address all Sikhs [who are present] with the cry: 'Hail the victory of the Guru!'169
- 134. Let each Gursikh commit himself to the Guru with all fervour and sincerity. [Another] Sant declares in the Granth Sahib:

Farid, if you are steadfastly mine the world belongs to you. 170 He who acknowledges the Guru receives the Guru's care and protection. 171

135. If a Gursikh should suffer any affliction, whether in his own home territory or abroad, he should receive assistance from local Sikhs. For the Guru's sake, they should offer him [practical] sympathy, regardless of whether or not he has money [to recompense them]. They should provide him with refreshment from their own resources. Thus do they bind themselves [in service] to the Guru.

136. If any Gursikh should be struck by financial disaster or any other misfortune [his fellow] Sikhs should join to relieve his distress as far as possible. Each should contribute according to

Be warned that many cheats, impostors and self-seekers 172 will infiltrate the Panth. Pay heed

When the daughter of a Sikh is to be married to a Sikh the other Sikhs of [her] village or locality should contribute towards the marriage expenses.

137. A Gursikh should not worship at [Muslim] tombs or the shrines [of deceased Hindus; 173 he should not visit] a temple or mosque; and he should not accept [the authority of] a mullah or a qazi. [He should follow] none but his own Guru.

Do [not] put ignorant faith in tombs, shrines of the dead, or ascetics' retreats. 174

- 138. A Gursikh should not let his son read the Granth Sahib in a careless manner, [heedless of the respect and conventions which should be observed in doing so]. He should be put with someone who will teach him [how to do it in the approved manner. He should understand that] the Granth Sahib is to be reverenced as Guru.
- 139. When a Gursikh sits to read the Granth Sahib he should do so with scrupulous care. If he has been picking his nose or scratching his body he should wash his hands [before touching the volume]. As the Granth Sahib says,

The [sacred] volume is the abode of God. 175

140. The Gursikh who reproves an erring fellow Sikh by preaching the sublime principles of Gurmat should ensure that he is in fact addressing a Sikh. He should not admonish a non-Sikh in this manner. [To the Sikh] he should expound the Rahit. If he is to convince the other he must, of course, practise it himself.

Meditate on the divine Name and teach others to do likewise. 176

- Granth Sahib

First [the believer] brings enlightenment to his own understanding; then [mediating that wisdom] he brings joy to others. 177

- Granth Sahib

He who instructs others but fails to practise what he preaches will continue to transmigrate. 178

- Granth Sahib

- 141. When a Gursikh reaches the conclusion of a reading of the Granth Sahib he should read the [scribe's] ink formula. He should then repeat Jap[ji] and end the entire reading with the [final words of its terminal] shalok, ketī chhuṭī nāl. 179
- 142. While engaged in any activity, or while making or using anything, a Gursikh should [recite the name of God. As he performs his task he should] repeat Praise to the Guru, Praise to the Guru.'180
- 143. A Gursikh should put no trust in his own man. 181 It should be restrained from the evil [towards which it so naturally inclines].

No trust can be put in you, treacherous man, grossly drunk [with the intoxication of  $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ ]. 182

144. Each village or locality with Gursikh homes 183 should maintain a dharamsala dedicated to the Guru so that passing Sikhs may have a place to rest. This should be done regardless of whether the Sikh homes be few or many. Sikh visitors [who use it] should be provided with cordial hospitality.

145. A Gursikh should protect the dignity of his kes and thus preserve the honour of his Sikh faith. The kes is the outward symbol of the inward faith of a Sikh. [The scriptures refer to the kes and its importance in the following extracts]:

If a coin contains silver, Nanak, all declare it to be genuine. 184

- Granth Sahib

Hovering over a [man's] head the five demons seize [him] by the kes and whirl him round. 185

- Granth Sahib

I wave my kes as a whisk over [the heads of] sants and apply the dust [of their feet] to my face. 186
- Granth Sahib

When Yama seizes you by the kes and strikes you your face will be battered. 187

- Granth Sahib

[Grant that] I may wipe the feet of [your] slaves with my kes. 188

- Granth Sahib

My kes will burn like a bundle of grass. 189

- Sant [Kabir]

Whether you wear your kes long or crop it short. 190

- Sant [Kabir]

[Remember], O beloved of God, that [merely] wearing the kes is not sufficient to earn [God's] grace. 191

- The Tenth Master

146. [Sundry aphorisms:] 192

The Sikh faith is [expressed in repeating the divine Name with] every breath.

Religious discourse should concern the divine Word.

All may know the mystical experience.

Merit is earned by attending the sangat.

Our deeds are seeds, [their fruit determining our future rebirth].

One's thoughts should concern the Guru's teachings.

One's actions should conform to [the requirements of] dharma.

Restraint is a weapon, [not a weakness].

Let all your words be the truth.

One's fate depends on one's previous deeds.

Munificence<sup>193</sup> is praise [to God].

The right to rule is [won] by the sword.

Worship is due first to the Guru and secondly to the sword.

Pious deeds are the witness [to one's faith].

The Sikh faith is fragrance.

Service is glory.

Speech should be sweet.

One's reputation depends upon what others see.

Disgrace is in the eye of the beholder.

['car [and avoid] contact with another's wife.

A good wife [brings joy to] her husband.

A wife should come from a [good] family.

[True happiness is] living in the [Guru's] presence.

The command [of the Guru] is to be obeyed.

The Guru commands that which he desires.

The Sikh faith demands a spirit of service.

Authority lies with the Granth Sahib.

A Khalsa is recognised by his outward appearance.

Praise God when you awake from sleep.

Bathing must include the kes.

Evil deeds should be forsaken.

Always be alert and act accordingly.

Speak as pious convention dictates.

Enshrine the Rahit in your heart.

To believe [in the Guru] is [true] wisdom.

A Sikh should serve others.

A Sikh belongs to the Guru.

Brotherhood is love.

One should attend to the needs of one's parents.

Learning should derive from interest, [not compulsion].

Sweetness of song depends on quality of voice.

Those who lead should serve [their people].

Love comes from within.

He who has food should share it.

Let your thoughts dwell on virtue.

It is sinful to kill

The man is to be conquered.

Conduct your wordly dealings with order and efficiency.

[The Guru's] grace is priceless.

Prasad should be karah prasad. 194

Battles should be fought by armies, [not by individuals].

Strength is in one's arms.

Let dharma spread!

All Sikhs belong to the same family.

The tongue is for singing God's praises.

- 147. A Gursikh should show respect for the letters of the Gurmukhi alphabet. Never tread on [any paper inscribed with Gurmukhi] and never use [such paper] as a wrapping. 195
- 148. A Gursikh should never bathe naked.
- 149. A Gursikh should memorize [the Guru's] hymns (bānī).
- 150. When a Gursikh arises in the morning he should greet the sun with a namaste 196 and [his fellow] Sikhs with [the salutation]: 'Hail the victory of the Guru!'
- 151. When the new moon appears the Gursikh should salute it with a namaste and greet [his fellow] Sikhs with 'Hail the victory of the Guru!'
- 152. A Gursikh should never censure an innocent person.
- 153. The Gursikh who sows love and affection will reap blessings a thousandfold.
- 154. He who responds coldly and unwillingly will be recompensed accordingly. As the Granth Sahib says:

He who acts under compulsion [earns] no merit [for himself and confers] no benefit [on others]. 197

- 154. These precepts have been recorded in response to the wishes of the Sikhs and in obedience to the Guru's command. They have been set down for the benefit of Sikhs, not for all and sundry.
- 155. This statement of Sikh beliefs may also serve the purpose of restoring a backslider to the path of sound conduct and so reconstituting him a [loyal] Gursikh. Do not shirk the obligations [thus required of all who follow the Guru].

## THE MISSION OF GURU GOBIND SINGH

At this point the compiler of the original Chaupā Singh text leaves his rahit-nama source and begins the first of his narrative portions. Sections 157-188 record a selective biography of Guru Gobind Singh. Particular attention is focused on:

- The devoted service of the Guru's Chhibbar Sikhs and the trust which he bestowed on them in recognition of their loyalty.
- 2. The treachery of the masands.

The insistence on renouncing allegiance to the masands leads to a catalogue of soldierly virtues, thus briefly resuming the actual rahit-nama (189-204). The narrator declares the mission of Guru Gobind Singh to be the destruction of evil with the assistance of his Panth (205) and then proceeds to describe the means whereby the Guru sought to strengthen the Panth for its time of testing. Akal Purakh has bestowed the Panth on the Guru, thus discharging his role as divine Father. The narrator claims that Guru Gobind Singh was also persuaded to seek the assistance of the divine Mother (Mata Devi, the goddess Durga) and relates the notorious story of how the Guru commissioned a fire ceremony (hom) for this purpose (209-236). The ceremony proved to be abortive and after a brief discourse with Pandit Devi Das Chhibbar (237-247) the text restates the Guru's mission (248) and returns to the Rahit (249-252).

A few lines later, however, the narrator abandons his expounding of the Rahit yet again, turning this time to a lengthy denunciation of those who spurn or vilify the Guru (253-267). This comprises a series of anecdotes, all involving treachery or insolent behaviour towards the Gurus. A linking passage then follows (268-285) and the text finally turns to a sustained exposition of the Rahit.

Much of this narrative portion is supplied only by the GNDU manuscript. The SRL manuscript omitted sections 185-246 inclusive without giving any indication of the omission. 198 This meant that it excluded the Mata Devi incident, but retained the denunciation of the Guru's enemies. The PSP version continues as far as section 193 before it drops an even larger portion of the original text. The Mata Devi and denunciation narratives are both omitted and the PSP version eventually returns to the original text at the beginning of section 281. 199

See the introduction, p.44.

- 157. In accordance with the command of Sri Akal Purakh<sup>200</sup> the Supreme Master<sup>201</sup> [Guru Gobind Singh] descended as an avatar to redeem the Kaliyuga. He was born a grandson to Guru Hargobind Sodhi, renowned as a wielder of the sword and a generous provider to the needy.<sup>202</sup> He assumed [this incarnation as Guru Hargobind's grandson] after performing austerities [in a previous incarnation] on the mountain known as Hem Kund or Mount Sumeru.<sup>203</sup> He was born as a son to Guru Tegh Bahadur in Patna on the seventh day of the dark half of the month of Magh, S.1718.<sup>204</sup> The birth took place on a Sunday<sup>205</sup> during the last watch of a cloudless night.
- 158. It was from there that he was subsequently brought to the Punjab<sup>206</sup> with numerous servants, male and female, in attendance. Chaupa Singh, the senior retainer, [was appointed to serve as] nursery superintendent and tutor. 207 In S.1722 (1665/66 A.C.) [his father, Guru Tegh Bahadur] Sahib, had weapons made for him - a small shield, a small sword, arrows and a bow. These he would take from a servant and use [in his play]. He also played children's games with others of his age, attended by numerous servants. In S.1724 (1667/68 A.C.) he learnt to read and write Gurmukhi<sup>208</sup> and Takri<sup>209</sup> from the author [of this narrative], Chaupa Singh. In S.1726 (1669/70 A.C.) he learnt how to read and write Persian<sup>210</sup> from Bhai Kirpa Ram, a Brahman Sikh. 211 He learnt [these skills from his teachers] just as Ram learnt from Vasishtha and Krishna from Sandipan, and he acquired [from them] a knowledge of the world in all of its many manifestations. In S.1728 (1671/72 A.C.) he was married<sup>212</sup> and Pandit Devi Das<sup>213</sup> began the custom of delivering daily discourses. During the same period he played with bow and arrow, gun, dagger, sword and stave. 214 and flearnt how to use them by watching others. Sikhs were sent with instructions to travel around the country and beyond, there to hear poems and hymns, and to bring back those which possessed notable quality. Some relatives [who were hostile to the ninth Guru] lodged a complaint [against him] with the Muslim authorities. 215 Guru Tegh Bahadur proceeded to Delhi and was vindicated in the interrogation [which followed].<sup>216</sup>
- 159. The Muslim authorities then summoned him a second time, [but this time the Guru]

Sahib did not go. That which had been concealed [was to be revealed for all to see]. The hypocrisy of the Muslim rulers and of the evil men [who served them] was to be exposed [The time had come to destroy the tyranny] of the Muslims, to tear out by the roots those who had perpetrated injustice in response to the [false] reports of wicked men. [In order to restone justice the Guru] Sahib deliberately brought about his own arrest. Sati Das and Divan Mull Das, two Brahman Sikhs, were both arrested with him. 217 By the time [the prisoners] reached Rupar [the Guru] was suffering from severe distress, but his two faithful companions were unremitting in their attention, providing him with food and water [as he required]. When they reached Delhi [the Guru] was subjected to interrogation for two months and three days, and was then beheaded. [This took place on] the fifth day of the light half of [the month of] Maghar, S.1732. 218 A Sikh secured possession of his head and carried it to [Gobind Singh. This Sikh] reached [Anandpur] on the ninth day [of the light half of Maghar, leaving the decapitated] corpse to be cremated in Delhi. When he arrived [in Anandpur] he laid the head before the Master. Taking the head the Master wiped it with a cloth and wept [over it. He then] washed it, first with rose-water and afterwards with water from the Ganga.

160. [Guru Gobind Singh then] declared:

- Dashing himself on the ruler of Delhi he departed for God's abode.
- Such was the achievement of Tegh Bahadur, the feat which he alone could perform.
- 161. At the death of Tegh Bahadur, lamentation swept the earth. From below came anguished wailing; from heaven triumphant cries!<sup>219</sup>
- 162. The head was then cremated on a sandalwood pyre. [When this was done] the Master asked how many Sikhs had given their lives [for their Guru. The Sikh who had brought back the head replied], 'My Lord, with him were the two Chhibbar Brahmans who attended to him needs. Faithfully they prepared food in his kitchen, and they served it to him with scrupulous concern for its purity. <sup>220</sup> Both accompanied the Guru to his death.' 'These Chhibbar [Brahmans] were our Sikhs from the very beginning,' [declared the Guru], 'and now they have died a noble death. [By their steadfast loyalty they have won] salvation [for themselves] and for all their descendants!' The Master then fell silent for the space of an hour. <sup>221</sup>
- 165. [When the hour had elapsed the Guru] said, 'But we have many Sikhs. [Where were the others?]' 'My Lord,' [answered the Sikh]. 'all were smitten dumb and fled. None bore any outward symbol of his Sikh faith which would mark him as a Sikh.'
- 166. Filled with wrath the Master declared, 'I shall decree an outward symbol such that a single Sikh will stand out in a crowd of thousands. Never again will there be any hiding [of their identity as Sikhs]!' Having said this the Master reflected on what he might do. On the seventh day [of the dark half of Maghar] the ashes of [his father's body] arrived, mixed together and wrapped in a deer-skin. They were despatched to the Ganga.<sup>222</sup>
- 167. Until the thirteenth day Pandit Devi Das performed readings from the Garuda Purana.  $^{223}$  All the scriptures ( $s\bar{a}stra$ ) customarily read [during a period of mourning] were duly completed. The Dharam Shastras were thus read and food was distributed to Brahmans.  $^{224}$
- 168. [When the ceremonies had been completed] the masands,<sup>225</sup> in company with other Sikhs, approached Mata Gujari<sup>226</sup> and respectfully asked her to have her son consecrated [as Guru].<sup>227</sup> 'Let the people be informed by the masands [when this has been done,' they said]. 'Once he is enthroned his retinue will function effectively again.'<sup>228</sup>
- 169. Mata [Gujari accepted their plea and went to him]. 'The [Guru's] retinue must be restored to effective action, my son,' she said, '[and for this purpose you must receive consecration].' The auspicious time [for the consecration ceremony] was ascertained from [Pandit] Devi Das, and on the first day of Chetra, S.1733<sup>229</sup> [Tegh Bahadur's son Gobind]

- was duly installed as Guru, to the acclaim of all the masands and Sikhs.
- 170. [The new Guru then] commanded, 'Call the Chhibbar Sikhs.'230 Sahib Chand and Dharam Chand both presented themselves and the Guru said, 'You are to join the Guru's service.' 'Master, we are unworthy [of this honour],' they protested.
- 171. 'There have always been forbears of yours in the Guru's service,' the Guru replied. 'Daragah Mal and Hira Nand, Brahman Sikhs of the Chhibbar family (got),<sup>231</sup> were employed in the service of the seventh Master.<sup>232</sup> Those [faithful] Sikhs Sati Das and Mati Das, who served both the eighth and ninth Masters<sup>233</sup> and who met their end together with the [ninth] Guru, were also Chhibbar Brahmans. Why, then, should you not be enlisted? [Come now], accept the appointment.'
- 172. The Guru commanded Sadhu Ram, [one of his] Sikhs, to bring siropas. 234 Sahib Chand was invested with the divan's siropa.
- 173. Dharam Chand received that of treasurer and steward, and both duly assumed their responsibilities. The Guru then despatched hukam-namas to the masands, commanding them to return to [the service of their] sangats. [Though still a child] the Guru took up the [serious] use of arms. A Sikh brought a copy of the Hanūmān Nāṭak <sup>235</sup>[and the Guru had it read].
- 174. [The Guru] also listened to other poetic works and to the homilies  $(kath\bar{a})$  which Devi Das delivered. During this same period he hunted and practised with dagger and sword. In S.1734 (1677/78 A.C.) he composed the  $J\bar{a}p$  and  $Sr\bar{i}$  Akāl Ustat. He sent hukam-namas to [his] Sikhs, for which purpose Sikh scribes were [kept] in attendance.
- 175. In S.1735, on the fifth day of the light half of Maghar, <sup>236</sup> a great religious feast was held to commemorate Guru Tegh Bahadur's sacrifice. <sup>237</sup> The [regular] reciting of bānī continued. [During this year] a volume entitled Samundra Sāgar was compiled and also a second collection relating the exploits of [Vishnu's various] avatars. [This was also a period of struggle, for] war began with Raja Fateh Shah. <sup>238</sup>
- 176. [During that same period] a messenger was despatched to Kartarpur [bearing a request] that Singhji Sodhi, grandson of Dhir Mal, should send the original copy of the Granth Sahib. Singhji Sodhi refused the request. 'Make another copy for yourself,' was the answer which he sent. [Hearing this] the Guru declared, 'They have gone their own [perverse] way. They will never surrender it. '239
- 177. In S.1737 Fatch Shah [was defeated and] fled, [leaving his] territory to the victorious [Guru. Later] war broke out with [other hill] rajas and a mighty war it proved to be. The Guru's own sons participated [in this war]. Many Sikhs were involved [in the fighting and some] fierce battles took place. In S.1748 (1691 A.C.) a Sarin Khatrani, Rup Kaur, came with members of the Lahore sangat to attend the [annual] Baisakhi fair. <sup>240</sup> She tried to deceive the Guru in a most grievous manner, but was unable to do so. It was because of her deceit that the Charitra <sup>241</sup> were composed. The work was completed on the eighth day of the dark half of Bhadon, S.1753. <sup>242</sup>
- 178. Thereafter the Supreme Master began to devise means of making his Panth [visibly distinct and] separate [from both Hindu and Muslim]. In S.1754, on the seventh day of Savan, he introduced the rite of kes baptism (kesān dī pāhul). Chaupa Singh, he commanded, bring a bowl of water. [I] duly brought one and the Guru then said [to me], Take a knife and stir [the water. As you do so] recite the Five Quatrains (pañj savayye).
- 179.<sup>247</sup> After I, Chaupa Singh, had begun to recite [the verses] Diwan Sahib Chand respectfully suggested, 'My Lord, if patashas<sup>248</sup> are added it will make a pleasantly sweet

mixture (ras). <sup>249</sup> 'Dharam Chand, bring patashas and put them in [the water], said the Guru, When I, Chaupa Singh, had thus prepared the bowl [of sweetened water] I stood before [the Guru, one hand underneath] and the other holding the rim.

180. The Supreme Master then scooped five handfuls [of water from the bowl] and five times he applied the amrit<sup>250</sup> to [his own] eyes. Next he sprinkled five handfuls on [his] head, reciting [as he did so] the savayyā of Chanḍī Charitra.

Savayyā

Strengthen me, O Lord, that I shrink not from righteous deeds, That freed from the fear of my enemies I may fight with faith and win. The wisdom which I crave is the grace to sing your praises. Grant that when life's span shall end I may meet my death in battle, 251

181. The Guru then administered the [kes] baptism for the first time, dispensing it to [me], Chaupa Singh, with his own hands. Having done so he commanded [me] to say: 'Hail to the Guru's Khalsa! Hail the victory of the Guru!'252 Four indigent Sikhs who were present now stood up with palms respectfully joined. 'Permit me to administer [baptism to these four,' I asked the Guru.] The Guru assented 253 and Dhanna Singh, Hari Singh, Meva Singh and Jodh Singh [were duly baptised. These four and I, Chaupa Singh,] were the five Sikhs who became Kes-dhari Singhs on that first day.

182. On the second day more Sikhs requested [the same baptism]. The Guru commanded: Prepare karah prasad. 254 Have the five Singhs [who were baptised yesterday] recite the Five Quatrains [and let these people then] receive baptism from them. [As the first Master has said:]

The chosen five are the five supreme. 255

Baptism should be jointly administered by five Sikhs, inducting [those who receive it into the ranks of] the Guru's Singhs. [Those who administer it should instruct its recipients in] the observance of the Rahit, [repeating] the Guru's mantra, <sup>256</sup> and in the obligation to bear arms. Bestow on each the most excellent name of Singh.' On that [second] day thirty-five [Sikhs] became Kes-dhari Singhs and on the third day sixty more. Each Sikh who thus became a Kes-dhari was invested with honour and dignity by his Master, and if he bore arms his prestige was all the greater. Those who bore the scars [of battle] earned even greater glory.

- 183. 'He who bears arms is a true Singh,' declared the Master. In this manner he bestowed on his Panth a uniquely distinctive identity. As the emblem of his Sikh allegiance [each of his followers was commanded to] retain his kes uncut. He who had spoken in wrath [when hearing how his father had been deserted] had fulfilled his vow!
- 184. On the first day of Phagan, S.1754, the Hola fair was held. <sup>257</sup> [The Guru] was angry with the masands [on this occasion because of the rudeness and disobedience which they showed]. A masand called Cheto had hidden something [and when the Guru rebuked him he and his fellow masands] all took offence. Thrice they were summoned [to join the sangat in] the langar [and each time] they refused to come. 'Send [them] trays [of food],' commanded the Guru. 'Take food [to them].' This they refused to accept. The Master himself placed food [on the trays] and standing up [despatched them to the masands. Again the food was rejected.] 'Do not let them go,' called [the Guru]. 'Seize them and bring them [here].' Some escaped but others were caught, struck down and burnt. <sup>258</sup>
- He who claims to be the equal of his Master incurs his Master's ire.

  Stripped of his wages [the wretched man] is struck on the face with a shoe 260
- 186. [The Guru then] commanded Dharam Chand to write to his Sikhs instructing them to renounce the masands and all who supported them. All who owed allegiance to the Guru were summoned to him with instructions to come bearing arms.
- 187. 'My Lord,' said Divan Sahib Chand, 'you have already cast three groups out [of the

- Panth], all of them [adherents of] your own relatives. Have these people been similarly expelled, and their followers with them?'
- 188. 'Write to [my] Sikhs, Divanji,' replied [the Guru]. 'Notify them that they are to heed [this] hukam-nama of S.1755. They are to obey [only] the Guru's messenger. They are not to obey a masand, and they are to arm themselves.'
- 189. What then is expected of the Singh who bears arms (sastra-dhārī singh)? He will be one who exercises strict control over his natural impulses, yet treats others in a generous spirit. He will take great care of his weapon. Before defecating he will entrust it to another Singh who will then keep watch [for enemies]. If an enemy appears he will immediately spring into action. He will similarly remain on the alert while sitting and thinking. He will not let his attention drift, emulating the beast which watches warily while it grazes.
- 190. The Singh who bears arms will never turn his back in battle. If he wins he earns glory; and if he dies he goes to heaven. <sup>261</sup>
- 191. The Singh who bears arms should never sleep unprepared at night. His body should not be unclothed, nor his head uncovered. He should wear his turban, imitating the ever-ready tiger.
- 192. The Singh who bears arms should never use his weapons against a woman.
- 193.<sup>262</sup>[Apart from the garments prescribed by the Rahit] the Singh who bears arms should wear whatever clothing he chooses. He should not wear a flimsy kachh of the kind which fails to serve its purpose.
- 194. The Singh who bears arms should continue always to develop his skill with weapons.
- 195. The Singh who bears arms should don his kachh as soon as he has finished bathing, regardless of whether it be wet or dry.
- 196. The Singh who bears arms will always worship his weapon.
- 197. The Singh who bears arms will never leave his weapon uncleaned.
- 198. The Singh who bears arms will remain on the alert even when his journey is for the purpose of trade. He will trust only those whom he actually knows.
- 199. The ideal place for a Kes-dhari Singh to be is with his Master. There in the presence of his Guru he will obtain liberation from the cycle of transmigration. The four blessings<sup>263</sup> will be his. He who dwells in the divine presence shall find liberation in this present life.
- 200. The Master approves of warfare. It was for the purpose of waging war that he commanded [his followers] to retain the kes and take up arms. Only by warfare is the right to rule established.
- 201. The Supreme Master stripped the Muslim rulers of their authority and delivered it to the Panth. Their power has been destroyed.
- 202. When the Master received his authority as Guru his first task was to kindle a light [that would shine] in the hearts [of men]. It was a two-stemmed torch that he lit. The rulers of the world should serve as lights [to guide their people] yet nowhere had a lamp been lit, nowhere could a light be seen. And so these rulers were driven out in order that the Panth [might rule in their place]. He bestowed authority on the Panth in order that it might take revenge on the alien Muslims, ending their rule once and for all.

203. A [true] Singh is a Sikh who avenges the Guru.

204. A [true] son is one who avenges his father. The Singh who bears arms should be as vigilant as possible, [ever ready to fight on his Master's behalf].

205. On behalf of [his] Panth the Supreme Master interceded before his [divine] Mother and his [divine] Father.

Reverently I stood with palms together, head respectfully bowed. With your gracious aid to sustain my endeavour I go into the world to establish the Panth. 264

- The Tenth Master

Why did Akal Purakh address him before [he descended to this world]? It was because evil had become rampant here on earth. 'Go and teach people to repeat my name,' [Akal Purakh commanded him]. 'Destroy the wicked. Establish a Panth which will propagate the true way (dharam panth). Akal Purakh declared:

You I now exult as my chosen son; summon men to the Panth which all must follow. Preach in all places the way of dharma; turn men away from every evil deed. 265

206. And so the Master interceded on behalf of his Panth. In so doing he addressed both the Mother, [the goddess] Devi, and [his] Father, Akal Purakh.

[The Timeless One (sarab-kāl) is our infinite Father, and the goddess Kali (debi kālikā) our Mother.] The wisdom of my Guru and my Mother's understanding have taught me all that I know. 266

207. When the parents are in happy circumstances the son also prospers. The deeds he performs are not his alone. Father and son are one and undivided, not two separate persons. Thus [the Tenth Master] has declared:

Those who claim that I am God shall burn in the fires of the fiercest hell.267

208. He also declared:

God and his servants are undivided, a single being in every way; Just as the waves arise from the ocean, then merge in its waters again. 268 In this manner both become one again.

209. Thus did Akal Purakh bestow his blessing by creating the Panth. In order to secure the blessing of Mata [Devi the Guru] held a fire ritual (hom). 269 He began by asking Devi Das if there were any Brahmans who would conduct the fire ritual for him. . .

THE FIRE CEREMONY HELD TO INVOKE MATA DEVI

The GNDU text relates the story of Guru Gobind Singh's alleged encounter with Mata Devi (the goddess Durga) in sections 205-235. According to this tradition Pandit Devi Das was deputed to find Brahmans who could conduct the hom ceremony which would invoke her presence. Eventually three such Brahmans were enlisted (Shiv Bakar from Kashmir, Vishan Pal from Kashi, and Kalak Das from the south). Rs 7,500 was set aside to cover expenses, a sum which was later increased to Rs. 45,000. Other Brahmans flocked to witness the ceremony which, it was claimed, would persuade Mata Devi to appear in its ritual fire.

During a preliminary discourse Pandit Kalak Das asked the Guru why he wished to have the ceremony performed. To destroy the demons which cause us such injury,' he replied (218). During this preliminary discourse the Guru also disclosed that his Panth comprised four distinct varieties of Sikh.

1. The didari or 'Attendant Sikhs' are those who, having renounced everything, remain with their Master and fight on his behalf (224).

2. The mukate or 'Liberated Sikhs' are those who give their substance and if necessary their lives in defence of their faith. The mukate alleviated the sufferings of other Sikhs and in so doing secure their own liberation (mukati) from the weary round of transmigration (225).

The maiks or Rapacious Sikhs are those who distort the Rahit to suit their own

The murid or 'Loyal Sikhs' are those rare disciples who acknowledge that all things are the gift of the Guru (227) .270

Kalak Das reminded the Guru of the rigorous discipline which must be undertaken if the ritual is to be effective, and warned him that if Durga were to manifest herself she would do so in a fearsome form (228-29). When the Guru repeated his willingness to proceed he was told to bathe and the ritual was initiated. On the fortieth day the goddess finally appeared, whereupon all but the four principal participants fainted. When Durga could be descried sitting on a tigerskin two of the Brahmans also collapsed and even the Guru felt dizzy (231). Kalak Das instructed him to offer his head to the goddess. This he declined to do, suggesting that Kalak Das should provide the required sacrifice. Durga, however, vanished and the Brahmans were compelled to leave without securing the purpose of the hom. This episode, it is claimed, took place in S.1756 (1699/1700 A.C.) at the shrine of Durga on the hill called Naina Devi (235).

The departure of the three Brahmans is followed by a discourse with Pandit Devi Das. This eventually leads to a restatement of the purpose for which the Panth was founded, at which point the SRL text resumed. 271

The new Panth

248. And so the Master constituted his Panth separate and distinct [from all else] in the entire creation. [He provided his followers with a unique rite of initiation and a unique appearance], just as in his fifth incarnation <sup>272</sup> he had delivered a unique scripture.<sup>273</sup> [This scripture had been prepared] because the Minas were also circulating bani. Prithi [Chand's] son Miharban had become a poet [and his works were being issued as authentic bani]. 274

249. [For this reason Guru Arjan] had said, 'Bhai Gurdas, you have been inspired by the Guru. Prepare an authorised version of the [Guru's authentic] bani. 'Bhai Gurdas accordingly produced the volume of the Granth Sahib [known as] the Adi [or original Granth]. In the same manner a unique Panth had now been created. What seemed [at first to be a mere speck of] straw in the eyes of Hindus and Muslims proved to be solid grit which would neither dissolve nor come out. [It remained in their eyes and] continued to irritate them.

The rahit-nama resumed

250. A Gursikh should carry weapons, both large and small, and should never be without them. The Guru has declared:

May the All-steel be our protection.275

251. A Gursikh must be upright and firm in his affections, a steadfast member of the Guru's Panth. As the Tenth Master has said:

Wear breeches, bangle, and a knife; keep a clean mind and a gentle tongue. Rare is the warrior who is fierce in battle but peaceable at home.276

252. And as the Granth Sahib testifies:

Rare [are the upright], few in number; most are concerned only for worldly show and empty actions.277 A Gursikh should therefore spurn the evil of worldly show and empty actions. No one can satisfy the worldly. Sants cannot do it, nor even avatars. As the Granth Sahib says:

There can be no meeting of the devout and the worldly 278

## THE GURU'S ENEMIES CONDEMNED

While restating the purpose of the Panth in sections 248-249 the compiler briefly alludes to the difficulty created by the spurious compositions of the Minas and Guru Arjan's decision to have an approved scripture compiled in order to distinguish authentic bani from that of his nephew Miharban. This turns out to be the first of twelve anecdotes, each relating an example of arrogance or disloyalty to one of the Gurus. 279 The next anecdote relates an incident from the life of Guru Nanak and the series which follows supplies a story concerning each of the successive Gurus in turn. The extra anecdote (number 7) concerns both the fifth and the sixth Gurus. The complete series is as follows:

- Miharban's spurious bānī prompts Guru Arjan to have the Adi Granth compiled (248-49).
- 2. Guru Nanak's meal with the proud Malak Bhago and the humble Bhai Lalo (253), 280
- 3. Guru Angad's insubordinate rababis (254). 281
- 4. Guru Amar Das<sup>282</sup> restores to life the son of a destitute widow, thereby silencing slanderous complaints expressed by the Khatris of Goindval (255), <sup>283</sup>
- 5. Guru Ram Das rejects an unsuitable marriage arrangement offered by vicious Sahi Khatris (256).
- 6. Guru Arjan and the insolent Chandu Shah (257).284
- 7. Prithi Chand attempts to poison the child Hargobind (258-261).285
- 8. Guru Hargobind and the treacherous Pathans (262). 286
- 9. Mihar Chand Khatri punished for maligning Guru Har Rai (263). 287
- 10. Ram Rai's opposition to Guru Har Krishan (264)
- 11. Dhir Mal's treachery and the death of Guru Tegh Bahadur (265)
- 12. The betrayal of Guru Gobind Singh by the Hindu rajas of the hills and the Muslim rulers of the plains (267), 288

#### THE RAHIT RESUMED

Having concluded the digression on the fate of those who slander or oppose the Guru the compiler inserts a linking passage which includes injunctions relating to the Rahit (268-285). He finally returns to the formal style of the rahit-nama at section 286. The exposition of the Rahit which resumes at 286 comprises the following:

- 1. Offences against the Rahit (286-549)
- 2. Injunctions concerning female members of the Khalsa (550-567)
- 3. A brief conclusion restating the role of the sangat as Guru (567-568).

Guru, Sikhs and Khalsa

268. It was for this reason that [the tenth Master] declared: 'He who is inwardly a Sikh and whom the Guru acknowledges as one must be [visibly a Sikh]. How is the Sikh faith (sikhī) to be defined? The Sikh faith was instituted by the nine incarnations [of the one eternal Guru]. When they departed [this life each] bequeathed the Guru's authority [to his successor, finally delivering it to the tenth incarnation Guru Gobind Singh].

- 269. The [Guru's] Sikhs had attained maturity and so the Supreme Master [Guru Gobind Singh] conferred on them the responsibility<sup>289</sup> of exercising the Guru's authority. 'The entire sangat is my Khalsa,' he declared, 'and the Guru is the Khalsa.'<sup>290</sup>
- 270. How can one hope to take worldly possessions from this life [to the hereafter]? All must be left here at death. One may rule [a kingdom] with all its wealth, land, cities and forts; [one may inherit a high] caste and a [handsome] body; [one may have] sons, daughters, wife and home. [None will endure.] No one has ever taken [this world's possessions with him] and none of them has ever accompanied its owner.
- 271. One may take great pride in one's status as a guru, as a mahant, or as the possessor of some other exalted rank; or one may [profit greatly from] deceit and fraud. [Nothing of this can be retained.] It all remains here [when a man dies].
- 272. What then accompanies [a man at death]? Compassion, charity, austerities, devotion, continence, [adherence to the] truth, humility, one's faith as a Sikh, service [to the Guru] these accompany him and so too does service [to others].

273. The deeds which one performs produce their effects in both this world and the next. [True] understanding, [regular] meditation, virtue, actions both good and bad, pious works - these are effective both here and in the hereafter.

The fruits of your actions accompany you [at death], Nanak; [worldly goods such as] garments and food remain here  $^{291}$ 

- Granth Sahib

- 274. The Supreme Master himself abandoned everything [at death], carrying with him only the qualities conferred by the Sikh faith. The Gursikh must therefore seek an understanding of his Sikh faith and observe it as directed by the Guru's own words. The Guru set the Panth apart <sup>292</sup> [as a distinct and separate community] in order that the Sikh faith would never be lost
- 275. A Gursikh should not be a contemptible hypocrite, a Sikh merely in outward appearance.
- 276. A Gursikh should not be a two-faced dissembler, uttering flattery on the one hand and cunning or malicious gossip on the other.
- 277. A Gursikh should never contend with a satsang nor quarrel with a faqir.
- 278. A Gursikh should subdue ambition. He should expect no reward [for whatever service he may perform].
- 279. The Guru was filled with wrath when he commanded [his followers] to take up arms, and he intended that they should be used with determination. One should not take up arms except in wrath. Without weapons there can be no kingly rule; and without kingly rule the enemy will not be overcome.
- 280. [The Tenth Master] was wrathful because [the followers of Guru Tegh Bahadur] kept silent [at the time of his execution in Delhi]. No Sikh fought [on his behalf]; none gave his life [for his Master. Guru Gobind Singh therefore determined that in future] the silence [of cowardice] would be replaced by the visible loyalty of a host numbering 125,000.<sup>293</sup> [Henceforth] they would remain [loyal] Sikhs even to death. A [true] Sikh is he who [steadfastly] obeys the Guru's command. As the Granth Sahib says:

Act as the Guru has directed. Why seek to emulate the [ineffable] deeds of the Guru [himself]?294

281.<sup>295</sup> The Master himself has declared: 'Those who merely see me are not thereby loosed [from the toils of karma]. He who obeys my word is the one who finds freedom.' As it is recorded in the Granth Sahib:

All Forms [of life]<sup>296</sup> behold the Satguru, but mere seeing does not bring liberation if one fails to meditate on the divine Word.<sup>297</sup>

282. Such a person is a Sikh of the Guru and the Guru sustains him [in his faith and in his living]. In the words of the Granth Sahib:

The Satguru sustains his Sikh. To his servant the Guru is eternally gracious. <sup>298</sup> [There are no sections numbered 283 or 284.]

285. How great is the Satguru, he who has worked such wonders<sup>299</sup> for his Panth! The Guru began the task of passing on to the Panth his own skill in the use of arms. He took up making arrows with his own hands and began training his Sikhs in their use. He also promulgated the Rahit [to be observed by all who professed] the Sikh faith and imparted to them an understanding of the [mischievous] policies [which were being pursued by neighbouring states and by the Muslim rulers on the plains].

Offences against the Rahit

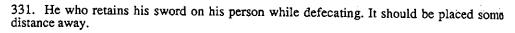
286. The Guru declared: 'If a Sikh, having transgressed the Rahit, stands penitently before a plenary assembly (sarabat) he should be forgiven. Let there be no delay in doing so. Impose a penance 300 on him to ensure that he does not commit the offence again.'

The following offenders should be required to undergo a penance:

- 287. The Sahaj-dhari Sikh who removes his beard. 301
- 288. The Sikh who takes [karah] prasad $^{302}$  out of the hands of another Sikh who is distributing it [instead of waiting for it to be given to him].
- 289. The fool who in a religious assembly heedlessly sits in front of a descendant of the Guru or those who are singing the sacred hymns.
- 290. He who greedily retains for himself [karah] prasad which has been devoutly brought into the presence of the Guru Granth Sahib for distribution amongst Sikhs.
- 291. The Kes-dhari [Sikh] who wears a cap (topi). 303
- 292. The Kes-dhari Sikh who wears a loin-cloth (langot). Treat this as a serious offence. The proper way to exercise restraint [on one's sexual urges] is to do so in the mind.
- 293. The Sikh who wears a loin-cloth under his breeches (kachh).
- 294. The wretch who conceals or surreptitiously carries off the Guru's prasad.
- 295. The Kes-dhari [Sikh] who removes the hair from his chest.
- 296. The Sikh who shows favouritism to some by deliberately discriminating when distributing [karah] prasad.
- 297. The Kes-dhari [Sikh] who uses a waist-cloth as a turban.
- 298. He who wears shoes in a [dhararnsala] kitchen (langar).
- 299. He who wears shoes while eating.
- 300. The Sikh who invites another Sikh to dine and then forgets [about the invitation which he has issued].
- 301. He who invites another Sikh to dine and then starts eating [before his guest has begun to do so].
- 302. He who stands up in any large gathering of Sikhs without [adequate] reason. [Such a person] should be required to make amends [for his discourtesy].
- 303. Any Sikh who obstructs other Sikhs in their efforts to solve problems, or who creates further difficulties [for them].
- 304. Any Sikh who offensively mocks and ridicules another Sikh. 305
- 305. The Gursikh who neglects to smear his cooking-square before preparing karah prasad.  $^{306}$
- 306. The Sikh of any particular village or locality who [commits an offence and then] obtains

pardon from anyone other than his village headman, 30%

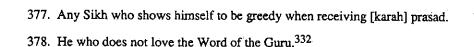
- 307. The outsider who interferes in a reconciliation amongst friends.
- 308. The Kes-dhari [Sikh] who yields [to an enemy]. 308
- 309. He who abuses other Sikhs.
- 310. He who makes an insulting gesture with his hand (bujā māre) to another Sikh. 309
- 311. He who jeeringly snaps his fingers (dhīrī deve ) at another Sikh.
- 312. He who pulls a Sikh's turban. 310
- 313. He who knocks off a Sikh's turban.
- 314. The Sikh who pulls the hair of another Sikh's kes.
- 315. The Sikh who grasps another Sikh's beard and struggles with him.
- 316. The mean Sikh who does not share his food to the best of his ability with any other Sikh who may visit his house.
- 317. The unworthy dharamsala attendant who denies a Sikh's request [for food and shelter].
- 318. The Sikh who fails to render service to any worthy Sikh of his village or locality.
- 319. The Sikh who violently attacks other Sikhs.
- 320. The mean Sikh who bothers other villagers on behalf of a needy Sikh [instead of rendering assistance himself].
- 321. The dharamsala attendant who fails to safeguard the belongings of a visiting Sikh from another place.  $^{311}$
- 322. He who fails to show proper respect to his sword.
- 323. The Sikh who, when his turban happens to fall off, fails to express regret.
- 324. The Sikh who, while passing a knife (karad), drops it on the ground. It should be placed [firmly in the recipient's] hand.
- 325. He who sides with anyone who transgresses the Rahit; with anyone who has been convicted of such a transgression; or with anyone who promotes factional discord.
- 326. He who violates the Rahit and fails to apologise.
- 327. Anyone who curses a Sikh. 312
- 328. The Sikh who carries his sword slung behind his back. 313
- 329. He who carries his sword over his shoulder with its hilt behind the shoulder.
- 330. The fool who entrusts his sword to a Muslim servant while he walks ahead empty-handed.



- 332. He who moves around unarmed. A Singh must be very alert.
- 333. He who merely washes his hands after defecating and does not perform [all of] the five ablutions.  $^{314}$
- 334. He who puts on a turban which is already tied. 315
- 335. The lazy [Sikh] who, when curds are available, does not use them to wash his kes.
- 336. The filthy person who lets his kes become infested with insects.
- 337. The negligent [Sikh] who fails to recite the Guru's mantra<sup>316</sup> and Japji every day.
- 338. The slothful [Sikh] who forgets bani which he has previously memorised.
- 339. He who reads the Granth Sahib while naked.
- 340. The Singh who bathes in the nude. Wear a kachh, regardless of whether or not it gets wet.
- 341. The Sikh who keeps the company of women belonging to another man's family.
- 342. The Sikh who eats a woman's leftover food.
- 343. The Sikh who touches the feet of any woman other than his mother.
- 344. The Sikh who dances.317
- 345. A Sikh who sings anything other than the Guru's  $b\vec{a}n\vec{i}$  in any Sikh assembly or gathering.
- 346. The Kes-dhari [Sikh] who plucks white hairs [from his kes].
- 347. The Kes-dhari [Sikh] who dyes [his hair or beard]. 318
- 348. Any Sikh who maligns another Sikh.
- 349. As it is written in the Granth Sahib:

  He who maligns others within his heart will be known [for what he is] and all that he does will be wasted effort.<sup>319</sup>
- 350. The foolish Sikh who sets other Sikhs to fighting by making irresponsible statements.
- 351. Any Sikh who contrives to provoke disagreement amongst Sikhs.
- 352. A Sikh who, if visited by another Sikh while he is eating, neglects to offer food to his visitor.
- 353. He who turns away from other Sikhs to eat surreptitiously.
- 354. The deceitful [Sikh] who shamelessly takes possession of a bed and sleeps on it while

- other Sikhs sleep on the ground.
- 355. Sikhs who inconsiderately sleep on beds while leaving a poor Sikh to sleep on the ground.
- 356. Anyone who advances his own interests contrary to the wishes of his fellow Sikhs.
- 357. He who neglects to warn other Sikhs when he perceives that their business affairs are in danger of calamity or that their plans are going astray.
- 358. Anyone who eats good, tasty food himself, but provides other Sikhs with miserable fare.
- 359. The murderer who kills his infant daughter.
- 360. He who cuts his hair, 320 [branding himself] a gross violator of the Rahit. 321
- 361. The rogue<sup>322</sup> who steals a Sikh's property.
- 362. The arrogant person who is discourteous to a poor Sikh.
- 363. The haughty Sikh who when greeted with 'Hail the victory of the Guru' fails to respond.  $^{323}$
- 364. The mean Sikh householder who appropriates for his own use coins which are offered during petitionary prayer (aradās) conducted in his house.
- 365. He who does not deliver this Ardas money to the person authorised [by the sangat] to collect it.
- 366. The fool who does not treat this Ardas money as an offering to the Guru.
- 367. Any descendant of the Gurus who passes on to the Muslim [authorities money offered at] Ardas [which he has received by virtue of his relationship to one of the Gurus]. 324
- 368. The slovenly Sikh who does not bathe after enjoying the pleasures of the night with his wife.
- 369. He who refuses to accept a decision of the [local] fellowship [of Sikhs]. 325
- 370. The adulterous 326 Sikh who cohabits with another's wife.
- 371. He who disobeys his parents.
- 372. The reprobate who eats meat from animals killed according to Muslim rites. 327
- 373. He who consorts with anyone who has neither received baptism nor acknowledges the  $\mathrm{Guru}.^{328}$
- 374. He who recites the Guru's banī incorrectly. 329
- 375. He who has in his house a son who has not been initiated as a follower of the Guru.
- 376. He who distributes [karah] prasad<sup>330</sup> without [first] reciting Ardas.<sup>331</sup>



- 379. He who does not participate when Ardas is being offered to the Guru.
- 380. The Kes-dhari Sikh who wears a tunic fastened at the side [instead of at the front]. 333
- 381. He who wears red [garments].334
- 382. [A Sikh] who applies black collyrium [to his eyes].
- 383. He who removes a  $dut\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ , 385 a copy [of the Granth Sahib], a whisk, 386 or a cloth [in which the sacred volume is wrapped].
- 384. He who touches the feet of a Mughal. 337
- 385. He who eats food left by a Mughal.
- 386. He who places [anything inscribed with] the Arabic script on his kes. 338
- 387. He who worships at tombs and cenotaphs.<sup>339</sup>
- 388. He who talks during kirtan, a scriptural reading (pāth), or a religious discourse.
- 389. He who does not show all possible consideration to a poor Sikh.
- 390. He who uses soap or salt-earth detergent (kallar) on his kes. 340
- 391. He who has another Sikh staying in his house and does not supply him with curds to wash his hair.
- 392. He who fails to set aside the Guru's portion from [each] heap of winnowed grain out [in the fields].
- 393. He who has a poor Sikh staying in his house and fails to arrange for his clothes to be washed.
- 394. He who [intervenes] when one Sikh is giving something to another [for a worthy purpose and ] forbids [the transaction].
- 395. The Sikh who gambles with other Sikhs' money.
- 396. The wretch who pollutes himself by having sexual intercourse with a Muslim prostitute.
- 397. The miserable Sikh who received money from another Sikh and puts it to some unworthy purpose. 341
- 398. The miserly person who receives money [as an offering] from another Sikh and buries it [for his own future use] instead of using it for charitable purposes and his own immediate support.
- 399. The person who eats carelessly in the company of other Sikhs, ejecting [particles of food as he does so].

- 400. The insolent person who leaves a gathering of Sikhs [before it has dispersed].
- 401.342A devout Sikh will reflect on the principles of Sikh conduct.
- 402. Let there be no resentment if a poor man angrily complains about his deprived circumstances.
- 403. As the Granth Sahib says:

  We, the poor and helpless, are yours, O Lord;
  hold us in your keeping, O God most high. 343
- 404. He who is able to supply the needs of a Sikh who comes to his house and yet sends him away hungry.<sup>344</sup>
- 405. The Sikh who, when he attends a wedding, watches the vulgar singing and dancing<sup>345</sup> [which is performed on such occasions].
- 406. The Sikh who worships at sacred lakes, pools, and tanks, <sup>346</sup> or at shrines dedicated to Gugga Pir. <sup>347</sup>
- 407. He who attends the mourning ceremony for a deceased Muslim.<sup>348</sup>
- 408. He who calls a Sikh by only half of his name. 349
- 409. The Kes-dhari who has his son's hair cut.
- 410. He who having taken a cup from a person who cuts his hair drinks water from it without first cleaning it.
- 411. The Kes-dhari who removes hair from his beard by nibbling it with his teeth, or who has any of it trimmed with scissors or plucked with tweezers.
- 412. The person who keeps a poor Sikh waiting while he himself eats a meal.
- 413. The residents of a village who neglect to welcome any worthy or notable Sikhs, descendants of Gurus, or bearers of hukam-namas<sup>350</sup> who may visit their village.
- 414. The Sikh who does not teach his son how to read the Granth Sahib. 351
- 415. The Sikh who [unjustly] censures another Sikh.
- 416. The Sikh who prevents another Sikh from entering a gurdwara when the latter wishes to do so in order to hear the sacred Word.
- 417. The Sikh who engages in violent argument with another Sikh.
- 418. The Sikh who fails to assist any Sikh who has been wounded, disabled, or overcome with exhaustion in battle.
- 419. He who misdirects another Sikh. 352
- 420. He who fails to have a slain Sikh cremated on the battlefield whenever this is possible.
- 421. The Sikh who, when asked by another Sikh for assistance in the Guru's name, neglects to do all he can to supply it.

- 422. The Sikh who asks for assistance without good reason.
- 423. The hypocritical Sikh who invites only respectable guests to eat the Guru's food, never a poor [Sikh]. This is the command of the Eternal One. 353
- 424. The impulsive Sikh who is quick to resort to violence.
- 425. The penniless Sikh who is given to foolish smirking and sniggering. Such a person should be admonished, [for scorn will earn him no reward]. As the Granth Sahib says:

  A fool who clings [to his folly] will be slapped on the face. 354
- 426. The ungrateful Sikh who fails to care for his parents. In the words of a Sant (sant sādh):

  The son who disobeys his parents assumes a base caste. 355
- 427. The Kes-dhari who distributes food<sup>356</sup> at a gathering of Sahaj-dharis.
- 428. The Sikh who flatly refuses to obey a parent's command.

  Why, O son, do you quarrel with your father?

  It is sinful to quarrel with the one who brought you to birth and manhood. 357

   Granth Sahib
- 429. Parents who are disloyal to the Guru. [Such people can expect no loyalty from others, not even from their closest relatives. Thus] Prahlad cast off his father [Hiranyakasipu, the enemy of Vishnu; and Shakuntala], the mother of Bharat, was sent away [by her husband King Dusyanta because she had lost her wedding ring].<sup>358</sup>
- 430. The Sikh who neglects to recite Anand [Sāhib] 359 before distributing karah prasad. 360
- 431. He who does not maintain langar purity by putting on clean clothes and plastering the cooking-square [with cow-dung] before preparing karah prasad. 361
- 432. He who has karah prasad prepared by anyone who cuts his hair, <sup>362</sup> smokes a huqqa, or otherwise transgresses the Rahit.
- 433. He who weighs karah prasad after it has been prepared. 363
- 434. He who irreverently turns his back on the Granth Sahib while sitting in its presence.
- 435. He who, while reading the Granth Sahib, sits on a stool which is higher [than the Granth Sahib itself].
- 436. He who distributes or eats [karah] prasad in the company of Muslims. If any Muslim [happens to be present] ask him to leave.
- 437. He who neglects to wash his hands before distributing [karah] prasad or before touching a copy of the Granth Sahib.

The [sacred] volume is the dwelling-place of God. 364

- Granth Sahib

- 438. The Sikh who acquires the stench of tobacco<sup>365</sup> by sitting near a smoker.
- 439. The Gursikh who fails to utter a seven-fold curse whenever reference is made to that Khatri of Sirhind [who was called] Sucha-[nand but who treacherously demonstrated that he should properly be called] Jhutha-[nand], 366 or to [Chandu Shah, that scurrilous] Sahi Khatri

[of Lahore].36/

- 440. The Sikh who when distributing [karah] prasad puts aside his own portion before [giving to others].
- 441. The Sikh who grants authority to a Muslim in the management of his household affairs.
- 442. The Sikh who divulges a family secret to a Muslim.
- 443. He who curses a respectable woman. This should not be condoned.
- 444-45. The Sikh who dismisses a Sikh domestic and in his place employs some [non-Sikh] servant. Those [Sikhs] who are themselves employed by Muslims should be required to seek forgiveness [for the Rahit lapses which their employment must involve].<sup>368</sup>
- 446. The Sikh who commits any breach of trust in dealings involving another Sikh.
- 447. The Sikh who receives word of another Sikh's death and does not attend the funeral. All must travel Death's road [and pious concern for others will make one's own journey easier].
- 448. The Sikh who does not obey the commandment of the Guru. 369
- 449. He who ridicules [the Guru's] shabads.
- 450. He who hears the scriptures being read while he is sitting on a string-bed and does neither of the following. Either he should get off the bed and sit on the ground, or alternatively he should have the reader sit on the bed beside him.<sup>370</sup>
- 451. The Sikh who requires another Sikh to swear a false oath.
- 452. The brute who swears an oath which harms an honourable man.
- 453. The Sikh who, in ordinary conversation, repeatedly calls on the Guru for justice or aid. 371
- 454. The obscene Sikh who uses filthy language when speaking to another Sikh.
- 455. The Sikh who defrauds another Sikh and refuses to repay the money which he has falsely obtained. Have no dealings with him. Do not associate with him unless he pays what he owes, in which case he should be pardoned.
- 456. He who insists on full repayment from a Sikh who has suffered a loss in trading.
- 457. [He who meddles in business conducted by an honest Sikh.] An honest Sikh should be left to conduct his business without interference.
- 458. He who deliberately inflicts pain or irritation on a Sikh.
- 459. He who seeks redress through the intervention of a magistrate<sup>372</sup> instead of accepting the decision of a Sikh. Disputes between Sikhs should be settled amongst Sikhs.
- 460. A Gursikh should settle such issues within the Sikh [brotherhood], regardless of whether he be the plaintiff or defendant. [Only] those who have no faith in the Guru will refuse to negotiate a mutual settlement [within the community].
- 461. The faithless [Sikh] who refuses to accept another Sikh's word when they are debating

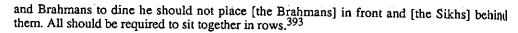
- an issue of common concern. If an arbitrator is required to decide [between two such disputants] he should be a Sikh. [At such times] both Sikhs should hold fast to their Sikh faith. God is witness to all and Dharamraj records all that a liar utters.<sup>373</sup>
- 462. He who has someone whom he knows to be a Sikh imprisoned, plundered, or killed. Such a person should be regarded as an evil fiend.
- 463. No Gursikh should have dealings with such a traitor.
- 464. The Sikh who employs another Sikh and then fails to pay him. Have nothing to do with such a person until payment is made.
- 465. He who gives his word and then goes back on it.
- 466. A Sikh with both hands intact who uses his right hand to cleanse himself [after defecation]. 374
- 467. The lax Sikh who eats food or who reads the Granth Sahib without first making every effort to cleanse his body. This he should do by bathing or [at least] by performing the five ablutions.
- 468. The Sikh who promises another Sikh that he will be at home and then [by his absence] causes the other to make a fruitless visit.<sup>375</sup>
- 469. He who frustrates the [legitimate] actions of other Sikhs. 376
- 470. If a dispute should occur between a Sikh and his servant it should be referred if possible to a Sikh magistrate. The latter should discharge the requirements of justice and protect the interests of the Sikh.<sup>377</sup>
- 471. The Sikh who dissimulates, [posing as virtuous while] doing evil. [Such a person] betrays the Guru.
- 472. The Gursikh who invites a Muslim to recite the Kalima. 378
- 473. The Gursikh who vigorously winnows his hair with his hands after bathing. 379
- 474. [Any Sikh who fails to show respect to a place of martyrdom.] Places where Sikhs have given their lives for the Sikh faith should be regarded as shrines of martyrdom<sup>380</sup> [and at each such place] a lamp should be kept burning.
- 475. He who defecates in a field of grain or neglects to wash his hands after urinating.
- 476. He who defecates on the bank of any lake, tank, river, stream, or canal. 381
- 477. He who removes his kachh at night and sleeps naked.
- 478. He who sleeps at night without a turban. 382
- 479. He who does not respond sympathetically whenever an aged Sikh or a blind person <sup>383</sup> asks for food.
- 480. He who participates in any religious assembly (sangat) other than one consisting of Sikhs.

- 481. The corrupt Sikh who increases his commission on work performed for Sikhs by taking bribes.
- 482. The Sikh who uses curds made from sheep's milk for washing his hair. 384
- 483. A Sikh who interrupts another while the latter is reading or expounding a shabad [from the Granth Sahib].
- 484. The Sikh who causes grief or distress to another Sikh. As one of the Sants has said:

  Do not cause distress to others if you hope for union with God. 385
- 485. The heedless person who experiences no sense of shame at [having committed any of the five traditional] sins. 386
- 486. He who looks without pity on any Sikh [in need].
- 487. The hypocritical Sikh who poses as one freed [from evil deeds] but who nevertheless follows the wicked ways of the world.
- 488. The Panth is [the domain of] the Supreme Guru [and Sikhs must acknowledge his values, not those of the world].

From the ocean come both shells and jewels. Men covet the jewels and spurn the shells  $^{387}$ 

- 489. A Sikh who having been incapacitated by sickness or wounds has daily Ardas offered for his recovery and then fails to serve a [thanksgiving] meal to other Sikhs when he recovers.
- 490. The Sikh who rubs gum-tragacanth 388 or henna 389 on his hands.
- 491. The Sikh who cuts down a tree, such as a ber-tree or any other [useful] variety, while it still bears fruit. 390
- 492. Any Sikh who obtains a copy of the Granth Sahib and keeps it in [his house] without either reading it [himself] or having it read [by someone else].
- 493. The Sikh who keeps the Granth Sahib $^{391}$  in a demeaning place [instead of in a place of honour].
- 494. The Sikh who lives in a village where there is a dharamsala and does not visit it.
- 495. The Sikh who, having invited another Sikh to dine, thrice postpones the occasion.
- 496. [Even if he honours the invitation he should take no pride in doing so, for he is not the true giver.] A Sikh eats the food [which is bestowed on him] and thus should not regard himself as a guru or a pir. Only the Guru can be regarded as great [for he it is who bestows our food on us].
- 497. He who calls himself a Sikh should never claim to be a giver, [merely a receiver of the Guru's bounty]. <sup>392</sup>
- 498. The Gursikh who passes a dharamsala while worship is in progress and fails to enter. If while proceeding along a road he comes to a dharamsala where a sangat is singing kirtan and reading from the Granth Sahib he should enter and prostrate himself.
- 499. The Sikh who seats Sikhs behind Brahmans [at a meal]. When a Sikh invites both Sikhs



- 500. The Sikh who knowingly serves food [to Brahmans before serving others].
- 501. Any Sikh who destroys the blissful atmosphere of kirtan by squabbling over worldly affairs while it is in progress.
- 502. He who differentiates the ten incarnations [of the Guru, claiming that they were separate and distinct individuals rather than ten manifestations of the one Guru].
- 503. [He who fails to observe the correct marriage procedure.] A Gursikh should take other Sikhs with him as a marriage party and have the wedding performed at the house of the bride's father.<sup>394</sup>
- 504. [He who neglects to practise  $n\bar{a}m$  japan.] A Gursikh should continuously repeat 'Praise to the Guru' ( $v\bar{a}h$   $gur\bar{u}$ ).
- 505. He who extinguishes a lamp by blowing it out with his own breath or by snuffing it with his hand. It should be extinguished by waving a fan or a piece of cloth.<sup>395</sup>
- 506. He who administers baptism of the sword to a Sikh woman. 396
- 507. He who scorns the food which he is offered.

  The grain [which sustains us] is bestowed [upon us] by God.<sup>397</sup>

- Granth Sahib

- 508. He who says 'That's enough (parh chhadiā)' [after reading from] the Granth Sahib. A Gursikh should ask for more to be read.
- 509. He who offers [karah] prasad which has already been sampled; and he who inserts a piece of straw as a bookmark in a copy of the Granth Sahib after completing a reading, 398
- 510. He who speaks of 'drying' his hair after washing it. [In order to show due respect to his kes a Gursikh] should speak of 'refreshing' it. 399
- 511. He who refers to 'drying' his slate after washing it. 400
- 512. He who abandons a companion while travelling.
- 513. The Sikh who treacherously misdirects another Sikh.
- 514. He who, while engaged in drawing water from a well, refuses a Sikh who asks for a drink of water.
- 515. The Sikh who causes unnecessary inconvenience to another Sikh who has been travelling [and is tired].
- 516. He who neglects to salute the divine sun [each morning].

  Hail to the Sun of suns! Hail to the Moon of moons! 401

- The Tenth Master

- 517. The Sikh who harbours jealousy. 402
- 518. He who walks around with head uncovered, thus getting dust in his hair.

- 519. He who sits bare-headed in a bazar. 403
- 520. He who travels bare-headed.
- 521. He who eats bare-headed.
- 522. The adult male Sikh<sup>404</sup> who lets a woman pick the insects out of his hair.<sup>405</sup>
- 523. He who throws a stone 406 at a dog without good reason.
- 524. He who negligently lets his kes remain tangled. 407
- 525. He who sits in the presence of women with his kes hanging loose. 408
- 526. He who refers to his kes as 'hair'.
- 527. He who does nothing about insects which have lodged in his kes.
- 528. He who touches his kes with dirty hands.
- 529. He who talks while the Guru's kirtan is being sung. 409
- 530. He who awakens a sleeping Sikh by rudely kicking him.
- 531. The Gursikh who betrays another Gursikh's trust.
- 532. Two Sikhs who are fighting and who ignore the command of a Sikh bystander to desist.
- 533. Any Sikh who fails to heed the advice of another Sikh. 410
- 534. The Sikh who pretends to be the equal of his Guru.
- 535. Any Sikh who does not know Japji by heart. Have nothing to do with such a person. 411
- 536. He who expresses dissatisfaction with whatever the Satguru may have conferred on him [in response to a petition]. 412 As the Granth Sahib says [of the Satguru]

  You are the True One, all your deeds are true. 413

It adds:

All your deeds are perfect and complete, marred by neither need nor excess. 414

537. He who does not provide shelter and hospitality in his village to a Sikh from another area who has been caught by a lengthy spell of rain.

Gursikhs should always be on their guard against robbers, pilferers, impostors, and cheats. <sup>415</sup> The Panth is the Guru's and in due time it will grow and expand. In the meantime, however, human affections will recede. [All sense of] good and evil will be confused and confounded. The Guru's Sikhs must remain ever alert. <sup>416</sup>

538. [He who permits a woman to read the Granth Sahib in public.] A woman should not read the Granth Sahib in a Sikh assembly. Women may, however, listen [to it being read at an assembly].



- 539. [He who participates in a woman's satsang.] Women may read [the scriptures] in  $\mathfrak n$  gathering of women. The male Sikhs should meanwhile sit elsewhere.
- 540. The Sikh who talks while defecating.
- 541. He who eats confectionery  $^{417}$  or other food which has been offered as an oblation by  $\mathfrak u$  Muslim official.
- 542. He who removes his turban before eating.
- 543. He who extinguishes a fire with water left over after drinking. 418
- 544. He who while sitting in the company of Sikhs speaks without due regard for normal conventions. 419 The Granth Sahib warns us:

He who fails to control his tongue will be struck down in the hereafter. 420 It further warns us:

He who talks excessively in the assembly [of the devout] will be accounted a useless fellow. 421

- 545. He who refuses to apologise after offending other Sikhs by gross disourtesy.
- 546. He who patronises or protects apostates,  $^{422}$  delinquents ( $tanakh\bar{a}h\bar{t}e$ ), impostors, cheats, thieves, adulterers or gamblers.
- 547. The Sikh who kills his daughter or who associates with any of the five proscribed groups (pañj mel). 423
- 548. [Unrepentant robbers.] Have no dealings with anyone who plunders and robs unless he apologises.

A Gursikh should accept the Sikh faith as set forth by the Granth Sahib. Living in this world is like tarrying but a night as a traveller from beyond.

[Each dwells] in this world like a shepherd in his pasture.424

- Granth Sahib

We mortals are here for but a fleeting moment, ignorant of the time when we must depart. 425
- Granth Sahib

549. The various offences, regulations and penalties specified herein are applicable only to Gursikhs, They do not concern [their] servants or other people.

The duties of a Sikh woman (Gursikhni)

550. A Gursikhni should not bathe naked, [nor] should she stand naked in water and cast it towards the sun. [She should show] water and the sun [the same respect and deference as she would her] father. 426

- 551. A Gursikhni should neither prepare nor serve food if she is dirty. [She should bathe before doing so.]
- 552. A Gursikhni should not abuse nor berate a man, nor should she fight with men. 427
- 553. A Gursikhni should sit with head covered in a satsang.
- 554. When a Gursikhni learns how to read the Granth she should abandon worldly styles [of speaking and singing]. She should sing the [traditional] folk songs. She should spurn vulgar

jokes, coarse songs, 428 and filthy language.

- 555. A Gursikhni should not keep the company of men other than those of her own family, nor should she sit with malicious women exchanging gossip with them.
- 556. A Gursikhni should sustain a placid and dutiful disposition. She should regard her husband as her Lord. Other [male relatives] should be treated in accordance with their actual status whether father, brother, or son.
- 557. She should instruct her husband in [the principles of] the Sikh faith. The men of the Kaliyuga are the disciples of women [bound to them by the ties of sexual desire]. Instruction imparted to men by a Sikhni is therefore effectual.
- 558. A Gursikhni should serve better food to any Sikh who is in need than to the members of her own family.
- 559. A Gursikhni should learn portions of the Guru's scripture by heart. Twice a day she should visit a dharamsala and prostrate herself [before the Granth Sahib]. 429
- 560. With cotton which she has herself spun she should weave cloth and, as her resources permit, offer it to the Guru as either a wrapping-cloth (rumāl) for the Granth Sahib or as a covering (chādar) [for the dharamsala floor]. 430
- 561. A Gursikhni should set aside a handful of flour  $(\bar{a}t\bar{a})$  from the family's daily supply and dedicate it to the Guru by giving it to [her local] dharamsala or to a needy Sikh. The Guru gives us this assurance:

When a Gursikh has food to eat the Satguru shares the satisfaction. 431

- Granth Sahib

- 562. A Gursikhni should always ensure that she has cleansed herself from pollution [before undertaking any cooking task]. She should keep herself physically pure and avoid actions which defile. [Before entering her cooking area] she should cleanse herself with water and fresh earth. While kneading dough or cooking food in her cooking area  $(chauk\bar{a})$  she should refrain from speaking in order to avoid the [accidental] emission of spittle.
- 563. While preparing food a Gursikhni should wash her hands after clearing her nose or scratching her body. Small children, innocent [of the procedures for avoiding pollution], should not be brought into the cooking area. Such children should be carefully watched until the food is ready.
- 564. A Gursikhni should not attend the mourning ceremony<sup>432</sup> of [a deceased member] of one of the five proscribed groups (pañj mel).<sup>433</sup> She should not give tokens of friendship to members of any of the five proscribed groups, nor should she accept any such gift from them.<sup>434</sup>
- 565. When ceremonies requiring gifts are held at her own home she should make an offering to the dharamsala. At weddings she should not indulge in ridicule, mockery, or coarse songs. The songs which she sings should always be wholesome songs. She should sing only chaste songs of nuptial blessing, and she should never utter anything obscene.
- 566. A Gursikhni should bathe or [at least] perform the five ablutions before reciting the Guru's mantra. She should not accept [the superstitious belief that] tombs and cenotaphs [are auspicious places to offer prayers]. Let her accept only the guidance of the Guru and believe in none but the Guru, her husband, and the congregation of the faithful (satisangat).
- 567. She must sustain the loyalty which a wife should bestow on her husband and on no

other. 436 This, as the Granth Sahib makes clear, is her bounden duty (sat dharam). Let her be dutiful, wise, placid, a treasury [of virtue], gentle in speech, careful of reputation, and tender of heart.

These injunctions are intended for both Gursikhs and Gursikhnis. Birth as a human being is a gift of rare value, one which should not be senselessly squandered.

By serving the Guru one finds the path of true devotion, and thus [from the devotion of an earlier incarnation] one obtains [again] the body of a human being. The gods [themselves] seek this human incarnation, so use this body to dwell upon God and serve [Him faithfully]. 437

- Granth Sahib

568. The Guru  $(v\bar{a}hagur\bar{u})$  is present [wherever Sikhs gather] in a plenary assembly and he who witnesses any such gathering of Sikhs actually beholds the Guru (gura). The Guru (gura) has declared: 'I am present in a plenary assembly [and when it speaks it does so as my voice]. Accept a plenary Sikh sangat as the Guru (gurdeu). Hold fast to the Sikh faith and steadfastly observe the Rahit.'

# APOCALYPTIC PROPHECIES OF CHAOS, DOOM AND ULTIMATE TRIUMPH

Once again the style changes abruptly as the compiler, having finally disposed of his Chaupā Singh Rahit material, returns to his narrative source. The tenor of the resumed narrative is, however, very different from that of the earlier section (157-285). Whereas the earlier section offered a description of times past this continuation purports to be the tenth Guru's foretelling of the future. This is provides in the form of brief anecdotes as well as specific prophecies, all of them expressions of a single dominant theme. The theme is raulā, tumult Loyalty to the Guru is dwindling as self-seeking renegades assume control of the Panth. The result is a mounting confusion which will end only with the arrival of the Kalki Avatar. See the introduction, pp.45-47.

Most of the individual items which comprise this section are easily identified by the formula with which they begin. Eight such items commence with the words ik same ('It once happened that . . .') or a similar form (569, 571, 573, 583, 589, 599, 604, 611). Others are more difficult to distinguish (particularly as the text moves towards its increasingly confused conclusion) and four of the following twelve items must accordingly be regarded as arbitrary divisions:

- 1. The coming tumult prophesied by Guru Gobind Singh (569-570)
- 2. The battlefield no place for scholars: Rai Singh sent home (571-572)
- 3. Leading Sikhs express anxiety concerning the coming tumult (573-582)
- 1. Dharam Chand Chhibbar reassured (583-586)
- 5. Faithful Sikhs and treacherous Sikhs (587-588)
- 5. The role of the Khalsa Panth in the coming tumuli (589-593)
- 7. The four categories of Sikhs and the ultimate triumph of the Panth (594-598)
- 8. The perils of selfish power and worldliness (599-603)
- 9. The nature of the Khalsa and its ultimate triumph (604-610)
- 10. The Guru's death mysteriously foreshadowed (611-614)
- 11. Future torment and the coming of Kalki (615-640)
- 12. Conclusion and colophon (641-642).

The copyist responsible for the text followed by GNDU and SRL has recorded one portion of his apocalyptic narrative out of sequence, mistakenly interpolating it while copying his first rahit-nama section (113-115). This misplaced passage does not appear in the PSP text.

569. It was at this time that the Supreme Master<sup>439</sup> declared: In the course of a century my Panth will reach its prime. It will prosper, and grow even stronger until eventually it attains to perfection. Yet even as it grows in strength evil will remain within it, an evil which will be made manifest in the mingling and confounding of all castes within the Panth. <sup>440</sup> The ways of the Muslims (malechh) and other such [barbarians] will be adopted within the Panth. Evil

deeds proceed from evil people [and such people will be found in the Panth]. Outwardly they may look like Sikhs but their actions will be those of bandits, thieves or craven weaklings. 441 Outwardly they may look like Sikhs, but their actions will be those of Muslims. Outwardly they may look like Sikhs, but their actions will be those of vile apostates. 442 They will associate with members of the five proscribed groups  $(pa\tilde{n}j \ mel)^{443}$  and with the superstitious worshippers of the five pirs  $(pa\tilde{n}j \ p\bar{v}\bar{v}e)^{444}$ . They will be treacherous, ungrateful, promiscuous, evil, malicious and depraved, murderers and thieves who follow no guru, men with filthy tongues. They may look like wise and learned Sikhs [but they will be frauds]. There will be turnult and disorder, for growth to maturity [necessarily] breeds evils. Although there will also be Sikhs who truly love the Guru, the times will be convulsed.

Rare are they [who follow the Guru], few in number; [for most life is] worldly show and idle talk. 445

- Granth Sahib

Such times must surely come.

570. 'The Guru's Sikhs who live through those times must take scrupulous care to observe the Rahit. [They must also take care to keep the Panth free from bogus Sikhs.] It may be that some foul dog-eating wretch<sup>446</sup> of unknown origin, near or far, will assume the outward forms of the Sikh faith and associate with Sikhs [as if he were a member of the Panth]. If his true identity should become known he should first be exposed and then killed. It was to uphold dharma that the Supreme Master set his Panth apart [from other communities and sects, and for this sacred purpose it must be kept pure].

For this purpose have I come into the world, to turn men away from evil ways, sent by the divine

Master to uphold dharma, to plant [and nourish] it wherever I might go. 447

This is the Panth of the Supreme Master, charged with the duty of punishing evil men. The Guru's Sikhs come from all four castes (baran). As far as their Sikh faith is concerned all are required to follow the same common code of behaviour. [In other respects, however,] each should continue to observe the distinctive conventions of his own caste.

571.<sup>448</sup>Once in S.1759 (1702 A.C.) [there occurred the following incident]. The annual gathering to celebrate Baisakhi had been held and the naqib<sup>449</sup> had been instructed to announce that everyone should go home. The naqib announced in a loud voice that the Supreme Master had instructed all to return to their homes. Hearing the announcement all who were assembled there duly dispersed. All departed except for a Khatri called Rai Singh. The naqib reported [to Guru Gobind Singh] that the gathering had dispersed but that one participant, Rai Singh, still remained.

'If you want to be a faithful Sikh [obey my command and] go to your home,' [the Guru] said to him.

'My Lord,' he answered, 'I have remained here because I have abandoned my home. How can I be a faithful Sikh in my home when I have no home?'

'Only at home can you be a faithful Sikh, not here,' said [the Guru. 'This is no place for you at present.] You are a literate person, one who knows Persian, whereas here our business has to be war. Because of the designs of [evil] people I must bring about a time of tumult  $(raul\bar{a})$ , for only thus can our ends be attained. [In such circumstances you will be a hindrance.] When you witness the turmoil you will think up all sorts of suggestions concerning the way this should be done and that should not be done. You will say, "The Master has made a mistake."

572. '[Instead of flinging yourself into combat] you will sit and listen to what others say. You will think, you will observe, and you will make calculations. But we shall be in the midst of turnult and when the Panth is plunged into turnult it has to fight! If all is calm [my] Sikhs will stay at home and there fall prey to excessive affection for family and possessions. But now, in the coming turnult, there will be no such distractions.' And so [the Guru] sent [Rai Singh] home.

- 573. 450 At that time the [Guru's] maternal uncle Kirpal [Singh], 451 Diwan Sahib Chand, Dharam Chand the treasurer, Kaur Singh Chandra, [the brothers] Darbari and Gharbarl Mal, 452 Bhai Chhauna Singh, 453 and all the other [leading] Sikhs together petitioned [the Guru, saying], 'Lord, you have declared that this [coming] turnult is [in accordance with] your own intention. Wise counsel cannot survive in the midst of disorder, O Lord. It must surely be destroyed. If wise counsel goes what will happen to the Sikh faith (sikhī)? When the Sikh faith declines hell will assert its authority.'
- 574. 'The wise counsel of the Loyal Sikhs will endure, Uncle,' replied the Guru. 'The wisdom which will not survive is the kind of attitude adopted by those vicious unruly Sikhs (raule de sikh) who follow the Way of Avarice (māikī panth).
- 575. 'Such people will appear within the Panth, people who observe neither the divine Word nor the Rahit. When political authority is conferred on the Panth these Rapacious Sikhs will be well established in it. Even now there are some [of these people within the Panth].'
- 576. 'Will these vicious unruly Sikhs who are to appear be found everywhere?' 454 asked Diwan Sahib Chand and Chhauna Singh.
- 577. 'We already have them everywhere,' answered the Guru, 'and they will be present within the Panth during the time which is to come. [As in the past] some have submitted to the nine Masters and have thus been numbered amongst the Enlightened, [so in the future there will be those who are loyal to the Gurus]. Others will attach their loyalties to the Way of Avarice.
- 578. 'These vicious Sikhs will be born in the homes of demon Singhs. They will themselves grow up to be demon Sikhs and they will worm their way into the Panth.
- 579. 'It is well known how in the Treta-yuga the Khatris brought forth demons as offspring and Parasuram slew them. 455 Why were these Khatris slain? Because one of them had killed a [pious Brahman] servant [of the gods]. Khatris are the servants of Brahmans and should not pretend to be their equals. The offspring of [the Khatri] Sahansarbahu became demons and thus brought ruin on all Khatris.
- 580. 'And then there was that demon born in the Yadava tribe. Can a servant mock Gurus [and escape unpunished? Thus it was that] because the demon [Kansa] was born a Yadava Krishna had him destroyed by a curse from [the rishi] Durvasa.
- 581. 'Wicked men secure power and influence in all regimes. Vicious Sikhs of evil understanding will follow the Way of Avarice. Such people will render service neither [to the Guru nor to the Panth]. They will spurn all that is good all service, love, devotion, mercy, Rahit observance and piety.
- 582. 'Whether [such] be king or pauper he shall [assuredly] act in accordance with his devilish nature.'
- 583. Dharam Chand, the Guru's Brahman treasurer, 456 once asked [his Master], 'What will happen to me, my Lord? [Hitherto] I have lived on the bounty afforded by gifts made to the Guru, but such gifts possess an awesome sanctity [and I can no longer continue to use them]. But what can I do and where can I go? While accepting this bounty I have been able to raise my family, [but what should I do now]?'
- 584. 'Dharam Chand,' answered the Guru 'your family has [for long] been a part of the

- Guru's retinue and still belongs to it. Your father Daragah Mal received his appointment during the time of the seventh Master and served him as diwan. As a child you lived with your father's relatives, 457 both of them also diwans and serving as such in the retinue of Guru Tegh Bahadur. You belong to the Guru. Where else should you go? There is no place for you apart from the house of the Guru. [The world beyond is like an ocean of] turbulent water where those who cannot swim must drown.
- 585. 'Fish, however, do not drown. <sup>458</sup> You were born in the Guru's house and here you were nurtured to manhood. If you leave it you will suffer hell. [Remain here] and receive all that you need. Do not be ashamed [of accepting the Guru's bounty.' Hearing this the grateful] Dharam Chand prostrated himself [before the Guru. While this was taking place] I, Chaupa Singh, had been standing in attendance. <sup>459</sup>
- 586. 'Chaupa Singh,' commanded the Guru, 'bring paper.' I brought paper [and the Guru] dictated a testimonial: 'Dharam Chand is my [loyal disciple]. Whoever obeys Dharam Chand shall be blessed.'
- 587. 'Sikhs who put their faith in the Guru shall possess understanding as firm as an anvil<sup>460</sup> and shall remain ever mindful [of their loyalty to him], whereas those vicious unruly Sikhs shall be the embodiment of all evils. They will have no faith in the Guru. Every sin that exists they will commit.
- 588. 'And yet even from amongst these [reprobates] some will prove to be Loyal Sikhs and will subsequently give their lives in battle against the Muslim [oppressors]. These Loyal Sikhs will, however, be very few in number. 461
- 589. Dalla Brar once put a question to the Guru [while he was staying at Damdama Sahib] in the Lakhi Jungle.  $^{462}$  This happened during the Maghi mela held [there] in S.1760 (1704 A.C.).  $^{463}$  The [Guru's] reception  $(darab\bar{a}r)$  was being held and I, Chaupa Singh, was standing nearby. 'My Lord,' [said Dalla], 'all four of your sons have been taken to Heaven (dev lok). Not one has been spared.  $^{464}$  What hope can there be for the Panth [now that they are gone]? Who will be guardian of the Panth [after your death]? The Muslim [rulers] are hostile and there is going to be open conflict between them and the Panth. You have [already] turned [your] followers into Singhs. Have them take up arms. The Muslims are very strong.'
- 590. The individual seats of authority [within the Panth] $^{465}$  will be abolished, Dalla,' replied [the Guru]. The promise was that there should be ten incumbents [which means that after the tenth there will no longer be a personal Guru]. It was for this reason that the masands had to be rooted out, for had this not been done each would have set himself up as a guru. The authority of the Guru is to pass to the Khalsa assembly (sarabat khālsā). Its guarantee will be the divine Word of the Guru and its guardian will be Akal Purakh. Sparrows, imbued with the strength of Bhagvati,  $^{466}$  will fell hawks. The power of the Muslim will be broken. I shall send a servant to wage war against them.
- 591. 'I shall send one<sup>467</sup> who will wreak vengeance on the Muslims and force them to submit.<sup>468</sup> Armed Singhs shall arise in the Panth as of old and they shall do battle [against the Muslim enemy].'
- 592. 'Who is this servant, O Lord, and when will he arise?' asked Dalla. 'And what is this Khalsa to which the Guru's authority is to be transmitted?'

593. 'It shall be a Khalsa unstained by worldly blemish,' answered [the Guru]. 'They who are able to recognise the Guru will become one with the Guru and will perceive him present in [the assembly of] all [his followers] (sarabat vich guru). He who will come [to lead the Panth is] a sadhu. 469 He will appear nine months and nine days after my death.

594. Thus did Guru Gobind Singh explain [to his Sikhs what was to happen]. In S.1762 (1705 A.C.), during the month of Baisakh, [the Guru] met an ascetic Bairagi sadhu<sup>470</sup> and delivered a confidential message to him. 471 Whatever else is to happen in the future the Guru alone knows. What we do know is that he will infuse strength into the Panth so that it will stand [firm against the assaults of its enemies]. What will happen thereafter only the Guru knows.

595. There will be battles against the Muslim [oppressors] in the course of which a host of 125,000 will sacrifice their heads for the Guru. It was wrath [directed against those who killed his father] which prompted [the Guru] to create the Panth. 472 Without such wrath there will be no resort to weapons, and wrath must therefore dwell within the Panth forever.

596. 'The Guru's [true] Sikhs shall remain faithful to their allegiance,' [declared the Guru]. The kes is the outward symbol of their Sikh faith, the Guru's personal seal. This is the Panth established by the Guru to maintain dharma. The Attendant Sikhs (didari) proved themselves constant to the end, and so too shall the Enlightened (mukate). The Rapacious (māikī) shall rule, but in their midst there will survive Loyal Sikhs (murīd) who stand firm in the Sikh faith. The Loyal, however, will be few, whereas the Rapacious will abound. 473

597. 'The Panth shall rule until the coming of the Divine One. 474 There shall come a time of great confusion and yet even amongst the Rapacious [Sikhs who dominate the Panth] there will be Loyal Sikhs, lowly menials dressed in filthy rags.

They who are clad inwardly in silk and outwardly in rags walk virtuously in the world. On God [alone] they bestow their affection, [seeking only] to see [Him], behold [Him]. 475

- Granth Sahib

598. 'During that time the Muslim [rulers] will persecute the Sikhs and many will be slain. [But these Sikhs will resist] and they will destroy the power of the Muslims. A Muslim shall arise who shall be the cause of the uprooting of all Muslim authorities. Later a Loyal Sikh (murid) shall appear and for the space of seven years and three months this man will follow the way of the celibate ascetic. 476 Then shall the Panth grow strong. 477

In obedience to the Guru's command Devi Das recorded this [prophecy] after pondering [its meaning].478 Only the Guru knows what is to come.

599. On one occasion the Sikhs, having collected five hundred rupees in fines (tanakhāhān), brought [the proceeds] to the Guru and asked that Dharam Chand should be instructed to deposit it in the [Panth's] exchequer. 'What money is this?' asked the Guru. 'Lord, it is the money collected as fines,' [they answered]. 'Let it be used to provide clothing and food for poor Sikhs,' commanded the Guru.

600. Thus the Supreme Master showed his concern for the poor. When the Rapacious Sikhs assume dominance within the Panth such qualities will be neglected. As the Granth says:

The five impostors are dominion, possessions, physical beauty, [an exalted] caste, and youth. These five knaves have deceived the world; no one has remained immune, 479

601. These five [objectives] will typify the Way of Avarice [followed by the Rapacious Sikhs

during the times which are to come]. The Granth Sahib [also] says:

Dominion, physical beauty, wealth and lineage - these sources of pride are all delusions, 480 Such will be the rule [imposed in the days which lie ahead].

One accumulates [only] the poison of deceit and vice; nothing, Nanak, accompanies you [into the hereafter] save only [the divine Name of] God 481

These are the features which will be characteristic of such a government. [But they shall have their reward], for as the Granth Sahib says:

Be not deceitful, wayward man, for the judgement which in the end [must determine your fate] shall be taken from [the record of] your life. 482

- 602. The rule and government conferred on the Panth [by the Guru] may be one which receives divine grace or it may be one from which grace is withheld. Grace is bestowed on any state or polity in which the Sikh faith is sustained, whereas the abandonment of the Sikh faith can only mean that it will be withheld. If in any state the practice of the Sikh faith is obstructed reason will take flight.
- 603. [In such circumstances stable] government will be succeeded by [the chaos of] hell. If the Guru's Sikhs and Sikhnis stand firm good will must [eventually] prevail in the affairs of a state. If the state is regarded as the Guru's domain loyal service and devout faith will be preserved. Material possessions will be purified and poverty overcome.

As I receive the Master's message so do I make it known, O beloved, 483

604. On one occasion Dharam Chand, the [Guru's] Treasurer, and Kaur Singh Chandra asked the following question: 'My Lord, you have said that you are present when all [your people assemble] and that the Khalsa is your body. In every particle [the Khalsa is the body of the Guru and] the Guru is the Khalsa.<sup>484</sup> You have also said that you have permitted sin to have a place within the Panth. For the Panth's sake you have broken the power of the Muslim [oppressors]. For the sake of the Panth you conducted a mighty fire sacrifice (hom). 485 Why then, O Master, should sin [be permitted to] survive [within the Panth] while you are present?

605. 'Wherever the plenary body [of my followers] gathers there I shall be present,' replied the Guru. The corporate body is the Guru Khalsa. Nothing should depend on a single person.

- 606. 'Whenever my Sikhs wage war against the Muslim [oppressors] for the sake of loyalty to dharma and the Sikh faith I shall there be visible in their midst. See me present wherever the sacred scriptures are recited, religious discourse is conducted, or kirtan is sung. They who act according to my commandments are the Khalsa. They who share their food with others are the members of my physical body. Righteous deeds and actions which accord with the Rahit are the very hairs of my body. This [new] dharma, [the Khalsa], had to be inaugurated in order that [the rule of] the Muslims might be destroyed. On it the power to rule had to be conferred in order that the Sikh faith might be sustained.
- 607. [The Guru then added]: 'Sin I have permitted to remain in order that hell may be filled [with sinners].' Hearing this [latter] pronouncement [the Guru's] uncle Kirpal Singh and the other Sikhs retired to their quarters<sup>486</sup> and discussed what they had heard. 'If such [sinners] are to be given a place under the rule of the Panth the result will be division and angry passions, [said Kirpal Singh]. 'Discord will produce disorder. Disasters will occur. Angry passions mean warfare, fighting, hostility. As the Granth Sahib says:

The proud, dying painful deaths in their pride, are not called heroes. Blind people! They fail to comprehend their true selves and are consumed in the fire of worldly affection. With fierce anger they struggle, their whole existence an eternity of suffering. As the Vedas proclaim, God has no love for pride. Steeped in pride the proud die unredeemed, condemned to the round of death and

608. When the [Guru's] uncle included in his speech a quotation from sacred scripture the

Sikhs who heard him were astonished. [He then quoted another] extract from the Granth Sahib:

Worthless is that state which causes (its people) to forget the [true] Lord. 488

- 609. In due course Kirpal Singh put [another] question [to the Guru]. 'My Lord, how will Sikhs obtain deliverance [from the round of transmigration] under the rule [of the Rapacious]' [he asked]. 'When that happens, Uncle,' answered the Guru, 'there will still be Loyal Sikhs (murId) who regard everything as the gift of the Guru [and thus sustain their allegiance to him.]'
- 610. 'But how can this be when they are so few in number?' [said Kirpal Singh. In response the Guru quoted] a passage from the Granth Sahib.

The food consumed by those who are imbued with the divine Name is always pure. And sacred are the homes, temples, palaces and inns which give shelter to the devout, to Sikhs and to renunciants. Sacred [also] are the horses and saddle-cloths on which ride the Guru's followers, Sikhs, members of the congregation of the faithful. All is pure if done by those who utter the eternal Name of God. Faithful Sikhs whose treasure is piety seek and find shelter in the abode of the Guru. 489

After the rule [of these, the Loyal Sikhs, has been established] there shall be no other. Theirs is [to be] the final dominion.'

611. During the month of Poh, S.1763 (1706/07 A.C.), <sup>490</sup> there occurred [the following incident. It happened late at night], an hour and a half after midnight. The double-wick lamps placed on the southern [wall of the Guru's room] were burning, the door was shut, and the watchmen were sitting [outside]. The Master was sleeping peacefully and I, Chaupa Singh, having massaged his sacred feet, had also dropped off to sleep. Suddenly an apparition appeared. There, standing [before us], was [the figure of] a sadhu. The Master awoke and hearing his call I too was roused from sleep.

- 612. [The ghostly visitor] gave the Supreme Master a piece of paper. Having read it he commanded: 'Summon Dharam Chand.'491 [The Master then said to the sadhu], 'Some of my work has been completed, Brother, but some still remains. When it is done I shall join you. I have two and three quarter years of this life still to run. There is a yogi's hut by the Mandakani, '492 in the shadow of Mailagar.'493 Go there [and wait for me].'
- 613. The [Master's] uncle wrote all this down and the Master put his mark of approval on what had been written. The sadhu took [the paper] and immediately vanished. 'Who was that person and from where had he come?' asked Uncle [Kirpal Singh]. 'Who sent him?' The Guru did not reply.
- 614. The devout and learned members of his following discussed what had taken place and concluded that [the tenth Master] was to be summoned in the same manner as the first. 494 Wondrous is the Master! How can we ordinary mortals perceive things [which are accessible only to those possessing divine powers]?

615. Later dark [times] will descend upon [the world] and the Kaliyuga will assert [its power]. Thus says Devi Das who expounds the ancient works dealing with the physical nature of the world. Such times must come as the Granth Sahib, the ancient scriptures and the Puranas foretell. Virtue will diminish while evil waxes strong. Natural disasters will occur,<sup>495</sup> [signifying the turnult of the times]. Sexual promiscuity<sup>496</sup> contrary to all decency, [will produce] a confounding of castes throughout the world.

616. The Master has declared:

All peoples shall be the offspring of mixed castes. The dharma of the Kshatriya shall cease to exist. 497 As the Granth Sahib says:

The Kaliyuga is a knife, its kings are butchers, dharma has taken wing and flown. The dark night of falsehood has fallen and the moon of Truth is invisible. Where [O where] has it fied?<sup>498</sup>

Such times are to come.

617. What will happen to sensible people at such a time? The Granth Sahib says:

[The heedless wretch] who lives as in a dark well fails to recognise his duty though he be
[plainly] told. Inwardly blind, his mind an inverted lotus; thus he appears as one crippled [and deformed]. 499

Such people will be plainly recognisable [as evil], their hearts filthy and degraded. Others, however, will continue to follow the path of duty appointed by the Supreme Master [Guru Gobind Singh]. The Granth Sahib tells us:

He who understands the true meaning of what he utters...

What manner of person is he?

... such a person is both wise and handsome. 500

Such are the Gursikhs, the Loyal Sikhs, behaving thus whether entrusted to rule, blessed with wealth or stricken by poverty. But they shall be few, whereas the reprobates shall be many. The Granth Sahib continues:

[The heedless] know not the  $n\bar{a}d$  [of the yogi], neither do they know the [pandit's Veda], the sweet song [of the bhagat], nor even the distinction between right and wrong. Such a Sikh possesses no wisdom, no intelligence or understanding, not even the capacity to read a single letter of the alphabet.

To such [the Guru] declares:

Truly such people are donkeys, Nanak, taking pride in their lack of virtue. 501

618. Such will be the vicious unruly Sikhs, <sup>502</sup> [the Rapacious Sikhs], whether they be rulers, whether they be rich, whether they be poor. Outwardly they may appear to be worthy scholars, strict adherents of the Rahit, mahants, bhagats, sadhus, or sants. The Tenth Master says [of such people]:

Presenting this false appearance to the world they will hold the people in their sway. When finally their life is brought to an end their dwelling-place will be in hell. $^{503}$ 

619. This will be their style of living and behaviour. As the Granth Sahib says:

The ignorant worship ignorance. Seduced by falsehood they follow the ways of darkness. 504
They will scorn that which is worthy of worship, choosing instead to worship the unworthy.
They will observe no difference between lawful practice and unlawful. [Instead] they will tell [others] to say a prayer and eat [whatever they wish. The food, they will claim,] has been thus purified. But as the Granth Sahib says:

If one adds spices to harām [food] it does not thereby become halāl. The uttering of falsehood, Nanak, is like eating that which is impure. 505

620. If one should put before them any wise saying of the divine Word of the Guru it will have no effect on them. The Granth Sahib says:

Though the night be dark, white retains its whiteness. Though the [light of] day be bright and blistering hot, black will still remain black. 506

621. The Granth Sahib also says:

They know nothing save how to engage in idle talk. Though they be told the words of Brahma they would not believe them. 507

This hymn by Kabir in Gauri raga perfectly describes these reprobates.

622. There must come a time when evil prevails, [a time described as follows by] the Granth Sahib:

He who follows the truth will be scorned, the ascetic will abandon his discipline. He who remembers the divine Name will be maligned, O Nanak, for such is the nature of the Kaliyuga, 508

During that time the cardinal sins will be committed openly.<sup>509</sup> [These are]:

Killing a Brahman.

Cohabiting with the wife of a Brahman.

Cohabiting with a raja's wives.

Cohabiting with women of one's own sub-caste (got).

Cohabiting with the wife of an ascetic.

Killing a fellow disciple of one's own guru (gurabhāi).

Killing one's own parents.

Cohabiting with the wife of a guru.

Traitors and villains will appear, [evil] signs [of evil times].

- 623. Such is the nature of the Kaliyuga. Men will behave like beasts, the population will decrease, and the water in the streams will dwindle. Cow's milk will taste like rain-water and children will be fathered on immature girls. [People will be scattered], their villages separated by hundreds of miles. Greed will abound, and men will have faith in neither the Vedas nor the Puranas. They will spurn virtue and they will neglect the obligations of dharma. Such are the conditions imposed by the Kaliyuga.
- 624. The Kaliyuga will last for 835 years<sup>510</sup> and then shall the Satiyuga begin. In the house of a Brahman living in the town of Sambhal there shall be born Nihakalank, [the Kalkin] avatar.<sup>511</sup> [He will be born] on a Monday, the fifth day of the light half of the month of Magh, [raised] to vindicate [the honour of] the Brahman Bishan Das, to destroy sinners, to uphold the rule of dharma. In the words of the Tenth Master:

He who is known as the Kalkin Avatar shall come to destroy all evil, on a Turkish steed as swift as a bird, with naked sword brandished aloft. Radiant his presence he shall take his place, like a lion rampant on a mountain peak. Blessed is he who comes from Sambhal, God who shall enter here his sacred dwelling place. 512

- 625. When Nihakalank rides forth from the land of the gods<sup>513</sup> then shall the Satiyuga dawn. It will be initiated in the house of a Brahman on the ninth day of the light half of the month of Kattak. Men will be twenty-one cubits tall and each will live for a hundred thousand years. Each man's food will amount to twenty-three maunds. There will be five Vishnu avatars [during the Satiyuga]: the Fish, the Tortoise, the Boar, the Man-Lion, and the Dwarf. [In this era] dharma, truth and virtue will flourish, and evil shall be destroyed. The Satiyuga will last for 1.728,000 [years].<sup>514</sup>
- 626. The Tretayuga will then begin, initiated in the house of a Khatri on the third day of the light half of the month of Vaisakh. Men will be fourteen cubits tall. The Tretayuga will run for 1,296,000 [years. Each man's] food will amount to three maunds. There will be two avatars, Parasuram and Ram. One part evil will be mixed with three parts virtue.
- [627.] Then the Duaparayuga will begin, initiated in the house of a Sudra on the fifteenth day of the dark half of the month of Magh. Men will be seven cubits tall and [each man's] food will amount to twelve seers. Each man will live for a thousand years. Evil and virtue will be equally mixed and there will be two avatars, Krishna and the Buddha. The duration of the yuga will be 864,000 [years].
- [628.] The Kaliyuga will then begin, initiated in the house of a Chandal on the thirteenth day of the dark half of the month of Bhadron. Men will be three and a half cubits tall and they will live for a hundred years. Three parts evil will be mixed with one part virtue. There will be one avatar, Nihakalank [or the Kalkin avatar]. The duration of the Kaliyuga will be 432,000 years. These are the four yugas<sup>515</sup> and their [total] duration will be 4,380,000 [human] years. <sup>516</sup>As the Tenth Master has said:

[Men] come and go, carried on by the cycle of yugas, 517

- [629.] When in this manner seventy-two cycles of the four yugas have been completed the reign of one Indra will have run its course. This [period of seventy-two cycles] is called a manvantar. There are twenty-eight days and nights of Indra in a [day] of Brahma<sup>518</sup> and Brahma's lifetime lasts for a hundred years. When 590,000 [?human years] have elapsed during the course of [a day] of Brahma [the period thus covered] will amount to a single ghari<sup>519</sup> of Vishnu. Thus a hundred years of Vishnu [will pass].
- 630. When 1,200,000 [?years] of Vishnu have elapsed it will be but the twinkling of an eye [in terms of a] Rudra [epoch].<sup>520</sup> Joined together these brief instants, gharīs, and days [constitute a year, and the period] of Rudra lasts for a hundred [such] years.
- 631. Eleven Rudra [periods] constitute the twinkling of an eye [in terms of an epoch] of Isar. 521 When these [brief instants are added together to form] days [and eventually] years, [the period] of Isar lasts for a hundred years.
- 632. Thirty-two Isar [periods] equal a single day and night of Devi Mata.
- 633. The Devi's [period] lasts for a hundred years.
- 634. A thousand Devi [periods] constitute a kalap (kalpa).
- 635. And what is a kalap? It is the fourth dimension (gun) of the Formless One, the embodiment of spirit. Behold [what happens in] the twinkling of His eye. As the Granth Sahib says:

He destroys and recreates in the twinkling of an eye. And none can comprehend the mystery, 522

- 636. Who can comprehend his infinity?
- 637. He is boundless, infinite! The Tenth Master has declared:
- 638. He bears neither symbol nor sign, caste nor lineage ...<sup>523</sup> The Tenth Master is [himself] the offspring of this perfect embodiment of the divine spirit. He is the Perfect One, [immaculately conceived]. How can one recognise him, he who is thus [immaculately] perfect, he whose body derives no element from the flesh of a woman? Everyone else bears on his chest the signs of a woman's breasts. The Perfect One, however, bears no such sign, [nor any of the other signs which mark mere mortals]. His [powerful] arms reach below his knees. He who springs from perfect origins will himself be perfect. Such is [the Tenth Master], the Perfect One. Sants are highly exalted, [but they are not to be compared with the Perfect One].
- 639. As an obedient follower of the [Perfect] One the Gursikh will not permit his Sikh faith to be compromised by worldly temptations . . . Hearing about the Guru makes him supremely happy. As the Granth Sahib says:

What, asks Nanak, can I give to him who tells me what the Master has said? Severing my head and offering it as a stool I shall serve him headless, [he who has brought me that most precious of gifts]. 525

640. And what manner of Sikh is he who delivers such a report? Again the Granth Sahib supplies the answer: 'You who have yourself found release, carry me over [to freedom].' He will be a [true] Gursikh, not one of the vicious unruly Sikhs (raule dā sikh). How will one recognise the latter? He will be the kind of person who is impervious to the [Guru's] teachings. The Granth Sahib says [of such people]:

The manamukh is [as impermeable as] a rock or a block of stone, his contemptible life wasted

in futility. No matter how often [a rock] is immersed in water it will always remain dry within,526

641. It is very difficult to secure birth [as a human]. Having found the [true] Guru do not waste [your precious opportunity] on futile pursuits. The material things of this world wealth, dominion, wife, friends and sons - are all ephemeral. They come and in due course they go. One enters [this life] with nothing and one leaves with nothing. These [material things and these relationships all] involve obligations and one must take care that in acquiring them one does not subvert one's Sikh faith.

642. The [Guru's] teachings, the Sikh Rahit, and [the discipline of] meditation are the common duty of all. One must hold to the Sikh faith in whatsoever condition one may be placed. Whether one be set in authority, [whether one be consigned] to riches or to poverty, each must keep his future state in mind and for its sake must uphold the Sikh faith and discharge the Rahit. It is the benevolent Sikhs who find release, attained by dwelling in the presence of the eternal Guru (pūran purakh abināsī).

643. The Supreme Guru ( $v\bar{a}hagur\bar{u}$ ) in his mercy performed that most wondrous deed, the creation of the Panth; and on Chaupa Singh he conferred the gift of understanding [whereby the recording of this rahit-nama was made possible. The original document bears] the signature of Bulaka Singh, the amanuensis<sup>527</sup> appointed with the approval of the Master [Guru Gobind Singh. The present copy of] the rahit-nama was recorded at the instance of Gurbakhsh Singh, son of the Guru's treasurer Dharam Chand the Chhibbar Brahman. 528

#### ADDENDUM

Although the first recension of the Chaupa Singh Rahit-nama evidently concluded with the colophon recorded in 643 the GNDU/SRL text also includes a brief three-part addendum. It comprises:

1. The Guru's promise to the faithful (644-646)

2. Blessing conferred by the Guru on Bhai Mittu and his descendants (647)

3. A concluding denunciation of false Sikhs (647).

644. During these present times, as in times past and in the future, the Sikh faith is for Gurmukh Sikhs who observe the Rahit. [It is not for the worldly], those who are destined for hell because their concern is the accumulating of wealth. Spending such wealth on useless objects is the way of the proud and self-centred. As the Granth Sahib says:

Only by sinning does one acquire [worldly possessions] and at death none of them can accompany you [into the hereafter].529

645. The Guru's Sikhs will never neglect their duty of obedience to the Sikh faith. [The discipline which it enjoins is] the regular observance which the Supreme Guru (vāhagurū pūran purakh) requires [of his followers]. 530 As the Granth Sahib says:

No one asks for a record [of your deeds] if the Guru has granted forgiveness. 531

646. And as Bhai Gurdas says:

Hearing that [God] loves bhagats I was sad at heart, but hope revived when I learnt that He restores the sinful. I trembled within when I heard that He knows our inner thoughts, but fear and confusion departed when I learnt that He is merciful to the lowly. Sustained by rain the simmal-tree lives without bearing fruit, yet even [the simmal] will assume the fragrance of sandal-wood<sup>532</sup> when it grows in the land of the sandal-tree.<sup>533</sup> Though my own actions may

not cast me into hell yet shall I crave the protection, conferred by following in your way. 534

647. The Granth Sahib testifies [to the true Sikh]:

I am eternally heedless and the record [of my deeds] will never earn me release. Giver of forgiveness, Nanak [prays], pardon [my misdeeds] that I may cross over [to freedom] 535

There were [devout] Sikhs of this kind in former times upon whom the grace of the Guru rested. They who lived pious lives during the time of the first Master, Guru Nanak, won approval [and thus attained release]. Consider Mittu and Malla, Sikh landowners who were delivered into the care of Baba Budha and [there] found happiness. Subsequently Mittu had a son Dayala, and Dayala [in turn] had a son Lal Man. 536 The Gurus showed favour to [Mittu's] family. 'Bhai Mittu,' [promised the Guru], 'your descendants shall be mahants, accepted [as spiritual guides] by the Guru's Sikhs.'

There will be many vicious, unruly impostor Sikhs (during the time of trial. Eventually, however,] they will be reduced to poverty and to begging from Sikhs [who have remained true. For their misdeeds] they will be punished by the [true] Sikhs. As the Tenth Master says:

He who turns away [from the Guru], stripped of all wealth, how can such a Sikh ask for anything?537 With evil words [these spurious Sikhs] will destroy faith and distract the loyalty of Sikhs who would otherwise remain true. Regard them as non-Sikhs. As the Tenth Master says:

Heedless of the Guru, they speak [words of malice], not of goodness.

Hell must be their ultimate end. 538 Such will be [the nature and behaviour of] these vicious, unruly Sikhs. They will not accept even the sacred scriptures. Benevolence and sacred duty will find no place amongst them. [Whatever their pretensions they will be spurious and] must be reprobated. The Tenth Master declares:

Let the Sikhs be liberated; non-Sikhs destroyed! 539 These non-Sikhs will follow no one [preferring rather their own perverse ways. Therefore] put no trust in them.

[By the grace of] the true Name this rahit-nama has been completed.

#### THE NAND LAL RAHIT-NAMA

By the grace of the Eternal One, the True Guru

An account of how the Tenth Master [expounded] the Rahit<sup>540</sup>

Bhai Nand Lal once asked [the Guru]: 'Master, what rituals and duties should Sikhs perform?' 'He who is my Sikh should believe in none save the Khalsa,' answered Guru Gobind Singh. 'He should offer worship only in the presence of the divine Word, [the sacred scripture]. He should not visit tombs or cremation grounds, nor should he believe the teachings of Brahmans, Muslims or Mahants. <sup>541</sup> Believe [only] the teachings of the Guru. And he who is my Sikh should observe no religious ceremony other than [that which is authorised by] the divine Word. [He should specifically renounce the following ceremonies]: head-shaving rituals, <sup>542</sup> reciting the Gayatri, making a water-offering, <sup>543</sup> worshipping an idol. He should never put on a dhoti, nor eat with head uncovered; and he should never sit before one of those bare-headed Brahmans. <sup>544</sup> A Gursikh should avoid such [external] practices, [for] the Guru is spirit.

'He who is my Sikh should never use a razor. Any Sikh of mine who has used a razor and

removed his beard is like one who commits incest with his daughter.

[Take care never to provoke a Sant.] Your objective may be legitimate, but [if you persist in asking you may try his patience and] evoke the kind of curse from him which turns even amrit into poison. [Sants possess divine power.] As Nanak Bedi has declared, the glory of a [true] Sant is plainly manifest and [by the power of God] he achieves that which he wishes to perform. In obedience to the will of God (paramesar) he does whatever must be done.'

The Guru declares: 'No Sikh of mine should smoke tobacco, nor should he use it as

snuff. 545 Tobacco should be avoided with the same [loathing] as beef.

The Guru commands: 'My Sikhs must heed my words. He who is inattentive to what I say will not obey [my] commands, whereas he who faithfully heeds them shall find rich fulfilment,

'Wearing the sacred thread is a Hindu custom [and is therefore proscribed for a Sikh of the Khalsa]. The emblems which have been conferred on the Khalsa will make a Sikh easily recognisable amidst a hundred thousand Hindus or a hundred thousand Muslims. How can he conceal himself with a turban on his head, a fine flowing beard, and [uncut] kes?

To accept a sacred thread from a Brahman who smokes tobacco and eats meat would be a most grievous sin. What difference is there between smoking tobacco and eating beef? They are equally [heinous]. A Brahman,' says the Guru, 'should possess a noble character, not an unworthy one. [He should be] an upright person, not a rascal. This means that he should never commit evil deeds. These would plainly indicate that though he be a Brahman by birth he is a Chandal<sup>546</sup> in terms of behaviour. What sort of Brahman is he who does not read the Vedas? He is no follower of the Guru. Never accept guidance from such a Brahman. Whoever gives gifts to a Brahman of this kind will be reborn as a dog, for his gift will have been grievously misdirected. It will be put to a corrupt use and the result will be ruinous [for the giver].

'Krishna once told Udhav that keeping an Ikādasī fast, 547 feeding a hundred thousand Brahmans, and giving a hundred thousand cows [to a hundred thousand Brahmans together] earn less merit than affectionately feeding a single fellow-disciple. The latter will earn four times the merit [of the former], for a brother in the faith is like the Guru [himself], in that service rendered to a fellow-believer is service to the Master. Guru Nanak has also spoken [to this effect]:

The Guru is the Sikh and the Sikh who inculcates the message [of truth] is the Guru. When the Guru speaks and the believer responds with faith, then shall it be seen that the Guru sets him free. 548

'He who accepts [another Sikh as] a brother in the faith shall thus grasp the opportunity afforded by human birth to secure release from the round of birth and death.

'People, however, are like sheep. Where one sheep goes there the others follow. Most people do likewise. Evil men who perform religious ceremonies or have worship offered on their behalf achieve nothing but a worldly ritual. [Their piety is futile], for having made a religious offering they proclaim their deed for all to hear. If this is done the effect is nullified. Gursikhs, on the other hand, [follow the practice of] distributing and eating the Guru's prasad<sup>549</sup> together. This they do after first reading the Guru's Anand<sup>550</sup> and offering Ardas,<sup>551</sup> accepting it all as the gift of the Guru.

'Ceremonies thus performed achieve complete fulfilment. Whether there be one or many each becomes an [effective] rite, the effects whereof [reach our] forbears <sup>552</sup> and thus produce [their intended] benefit. [Most] people accept and encourage the practice of offering pious gifts because they are like sheep, [following where others lead]. Because they are like sheep they recoil in fear whenever they encounter any difficulty [and run to the Brahmans]. He who is my Sikh will never seek the services of a Brahman. The ceremonies observed by my Panth were ordained by the Satguru, by Akal Purakh.

'If anyone encounters an obstacle [in any endeavour] he should give prasad<sup>553</sup> to five Sikhs. When these five Sikhs have eaten the prasad and recited Ardas his purposes will all be brought to a satisfactory conclusion.

'He who obeys a brother in the faith obeys the Guru; and he who rejects one rejects the Guru.

'All that the Guru says should be accepted as true. He who follows the Guru's teachings shall find rich fulfilment, whereas he who does not accept them will flounder helplessly.<sup>554</sup>

During the last watch of the night a Sikh should arise, bathe, and after cleaning his teeth he should read both the Jap [ $j\bar{i}$  of Guru Nanak] and the  $J\bar{a}p$  [of Guru Gobind Singh]. He who is unable to read should recite [from memory] two stanzas from both  $Japj\bar{i}$  and  $J\bar{a}p$ . When dawn breaks he should proceed to wherever a religious assembly ( $d\bar{i}v\bar{a}n$ ) is being held. There he should prostrate himself and [taking his place in the assembly] listen to [the singing of] the divine Word. He should then go about his daily business. At midday he should wash his feet and hands, and having done so he should read both  $Japj\bar{i}$  and  $J\bar{a}p$  [again]. An hour before the close of day 555 he should read the Sodar Rahir $\bar{a}s$ . Hold the divine Word in loving remembrance throughout the entire twenty-hours of the day. Whoever observes this Rahit shall obtain bliss both in this life and in the hereafter.

On the occasion of a *śrāddh* ceremony prepare the tastiest of food<sup>557</sup> and having done so summon [the local members of] the Khalsa. Read the *Anand*, recite Ardas, and feed the Sikhs [who have assembled at your invitation]. He who does this shall have his offering accepted and the benefit will have been communicated to his forbears.

'Idol worship, [Brahmanical] ritual, wearing the dhoti, and leaving the head bare are duties which were required during past yugas, [not during the present]. During the Kaliyuga the proper duty to observe is that which binds disciple to Guru. Each yuga has its own Veda. For the Kaliyuga it is the Atharva Veda. According to the Atharva Veda he who [lives in] the Kaliyuga and obeys the word of the Guru shall find rich fulfilment, whereas he who does not obey it will sink [in the Ocean of Existence].

'Freedom [from the cycle of death and rebirth] is not obtained by reading the Shastras, the Vedas, or the Puranas. The ladder which leads to freedom is the divine Name (nām). He who reads, hears and repeats the divine Name shall be freed [from the transmigratory round].'

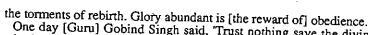
Without the Guru there can be no release though one search the Vedas and the Puranas. 'Hear, O

Khalsa,' Gobind Singh declares, 'In the Kaliyuga the divine Name is supreme.'558

Anyone who believes in the Brahmans consigns his family to hell. Abandon the Guru to serve Brahman masters<sup>559</sup> and you shall find no resting-place in the hereafter. The Guru has truly said, 'He who reverences Brahman teachers or worships at cenotaphs and cremation grounds shall be separated from me.'

Perform all [approved] ceremonies [punctiliously], for there are many details to be observed if one is a Gurmukh. Accept whatever the Satguru says as the supreme truth. If you do so you shall find rich fulfilment. He who refuses to believe it shall struggle helplessly.

If the Guru wishes, then evil turns to good and good to evil. As he wishes, so he acts. He acts as need dictates and [inexorably the intended result] follows. He who obeys the [Guru's] command shall find the door [to freedom], whereas he who rejects it shall continue to suffer



One day [Guru] Gobind Singh said, Trust nothing save the divine Word (sabad), for he who bestows his affections on anything other than the divine Word shall be cast into hell. Read the divine Word, hear the divine Word, earn the merit bestowed by the divine Word.

Apart from the divine Word there is nowhere to go. Without the divine Word one suffers fearsome punishment 560

The bank is the Guru, the Guru the bank, and amrit permeates all. When [the Guru] utters bank and the believer responds with faith, then shall it be seen that the Guru bears him to

Guru Gobind Singh has said that Sikhs should follow the path of renunciation while yet remaining householders. A Sikh should never trust a woman, nor should he seek to probe her inner thoughts. Do not cast lecherous eyes on the women<sup>562</sup> of another man's family, for this is a very serious offence. Do not steal another's property. Do not be mean and miserly.

There is medicine for all illnesses, but none for the slanderer. Because he has told lies the slanderer will be struck down in the Master's court. [When, after death, he must stand and give an account of his deeds] he will receive a [sorry] surprise, and when he cries [for mercy] none will listen. Everyone must die; no one lives forever. [Remember this and] do not turn away from the Guru. No one else has paid the deposit [on your posthumous travel] expenses so how can you cross [the Ocean of Existence]? With the assistance which is available from the Court of God secure the deposit [which is gained by fulfilling the requirements] of dharma. The deposit [secured by discharging the obligations] of dharma is earned by service to those who lack food and clothing.

He who puts the spirit of service into actual practice finds happiness in the present, and [in the hereafter] receives it at the divine Court. Learn how to serve both strangers<sup>563</sup> and brothers. Never ask whether one is a Brahman or a Khatri, and accept him whether he be a yogi or a sanyasi. Do not accept them as guests because they wear orange<sup>564</sup> robes and matted hair. [These are not necessary qualifications.]

Serve a brother in the Sikh faith as you would serve the Guru [himself] and treat him with the reverence [you would show the Guru]. Guru Gobind Singh Sodhi has decreed that the merit earned by feeding a brother in the faith is greater than that earned by feeding someone else. Serve him as generously as your wealth permits. The more you serve a brother in the faith the greater the merit you secure.

Let all proclaim: 'Hail to the victory of the Guru!' Hear me Sikhs, sons and brothers! Accept the word of the Satguru as the truth [which brings release] and you shall encounter no obstacle in the divine Court. He who lodges the Satguru's word in his heart shall suffer no impediment when he appears in the divine Court, nor he who receives the Satguru's greeting [when he makes his appearance therein].

The Guru has declared: 'He who is my Sikh will spurn [Brahmanical] ceremonies, [using] a razor, [reciting] the Gayatri, [making] water offerings, and [other such] hypocritical practices.' A Sikh's affections should be directed to nothing save the divine Word of the Guru. To love anything else means consignment to hell.

### SRL colophon

Cry 'Praise to the Guru', brother. This record<sup>565</sup> is [hereby] concluded with the request that [unintentional] errors and omissions should be pardoned. With the Guru's [gracious] assistance this rahit-nama has been brought to completion.<sup>566</sup> [All praise to] the divine Name which is truth! With the aid of Sri Akal Purakh this book was copied in the town of Jind [and completed there] on the fourteenth day of the light half of the month of Chet, S.1821 (1765 A.C.).567

## GNDU colophon

Cry 'Praise to the Guru', brother. This record is [hereby] concluded with the request that [unintentional] errors and omissions should be pardoned. The entire volume was completed in \$.1913 (1856-57 A.C.). It is signed by [the scribe], Harinam Singh Khatri.

#### NOTES TO THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION

ABBREVIATIONS:	•
AG	Adi Granth.
B40 (Eng)	W. H. McLeod (trans.), The B40 Janam-sākhī. Amritsar, 1980.
BG	Bhai Gurdas, Vārān .
B-n	Kesar Singh Chhibbar, Bansāvalī-nāmā.
ChS	Text of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā. Numbers following the abbreviation ChS designate sections of the Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā text.
Darapan	Sahib Singh, Srī Gurū Granth Darapan, 10 vols. Jalandhar, 1962-64.
DG	Dasam Granth,
ESC	W. H. McLeod, The Evolution of the Sikh Community. Delhi, 1975; Oxford, 1976.
EST	W. H. McLeod, Early Sikh Tradition: a study of the janam-sākhīs. Oxford, 1980.
GM .	Kahn Singh Nabha, Gurumat Māratand, 2 vols. Amritsar, 1962.
$\mathit{GNDU}$	Guru Nanak Dev University library manuscript no.1018.
GNSR	W. H. McLeod, Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion. Oxford, 1968.
GPBS	Guramat Prakāš Bhāg Sanskār. 8th ed. Amritsar, 1952.
KhC	Sikh History Research Department of Khalsa College, Amritsar, manuscript no. SHR 227.
М	Mahalā, the Adi Granth code-word meaning 'Guru'. M1 designates Guru Nanak, M2 designates Guru Angad, etc.
Macauliffe	M. A. Macauliffe, The Sikh Religion, 6 vols. Oxford, 1909.
MK	Kahn Singh Nabha, Guruśabad Ratanākar Mahān Koś (commonly known as Mahān Koś). 2nd ed. revised with Addendum. Patiala, 1960.
PrS	Randhir Singh (ed.), Prem Sumārag Granth. Jalandhar, 1965.
PSP	Piara Singh Padam (ed.), Rahit-name. Patiala, 1974.
Sabadarath	Sabadārath Srī Gurū Granth Sāhib Jī. Text and commentary on the Adi Granth, n.p. 1936-41.
SPr	Santokh Singh, Gur Pratāp Suray (the Sūraj Prakās). Page numbers refer to Vir Singh's edition Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth, Amritsar, 1927-35.
SRL	Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar, manuscript no. 6124.
SRM	Sikh Rahit Maryādā (Punjabi version). Published by the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar, various editions.
TSSS	W. H. McLeod, Textual Sources for the Study of

1. sākh granth sāhib jī, 'the testimony of the Granth Sahib'. The rahit-nama attributed to Chaupa Singh is notable for its extensive use of scriptural quotations, most of them drawn from the Adi Granth but also some from the Dasam Granth. These quotations are inserted either as a means of buttressing rahit injunctions or to confer authenticity on narrative passages. The formula sākh granth sāhib jī is almost always used to introduce Adi Granth quotations from the works of the first five Gurus whenever such extracts are attached to rahit prescriptions. It is also prefixed to some of the quotations included in the narrative portions of the text. For an Adi Granth quotation from poets other than the Gurus (notably Kabir and Farid) the same formula may be used. In such instances, however, the variant form sant sakh or sant vak is more common. Quotations from the Dasam Granth always identify their source by a reference to the tenth Guru or to a

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verse-form which recognisably belongs to the Dasam Granth (180). A variety of formulae are used including pātasāhī 10, sākh pātasāhī 10, and sākh granth sāhib jī pātasāhī 10. (As the last of these examples indicates, the term 'Granth Sahib' is applied to the Dasam Granth as well as to the Adi Granth.) A solitary quotation from the works of Bhai Gurdas is introduced with the words sākh bhāī guradās (646). In most instances these formulae appear in the English translation as introductory clauses preceding their quotations (e.g. 'As the Granth Sahib says'). Occasionally they follow it as a non-specific attribution. Specific locations are given in footnotes. These are never indicated in the text. A few Adi Granth quotations also appear in the brief rahit-nama attributed to Nand Lal. None of these quotations is preceded by an introductory formula.

2. M5, Gaurī Bāvan Akharī 44, AG p. 259. The line can be translated in other ways. If the line which follows it is added a more likely translation would be:

By living one's life in accordance with the infinite Word of the Guru one progressively eliminates the disease [of separation from God]. In Guru Arjan's usage the word rahit cannot have borne the eighteenth-century meaning which is assumed by the author of the rahit-nama.

- 3. M1, Bilāval Ast 1 (3), AG p. 831. A better translation would be:

  He who has truth in his man lives [a life which reflects] that truth.

  For the meaning of man see GNSR, pp. 178-181 and note 181 below.
- 4. Kabir, Gaurī 18 (4), AG p. 327.
- 5. gurū kā sikh, a Sikh of the Guru.
- 6. Bhika, Saväie mahale tije ke 20, AG pp. 1395-96.
- 7. guramukh: 'one whose face is turned to the Guru', a faithful follower of the Guru. Like Gursikh the word has entered standard English usage in the Punjab and both terms are accordingly used in the translation without italics. The opposite of guramukh is manamukh: 'one whose face is turned to [his own] man", a self-willed person.
- 8. kes-dhārī athavā sahaj-dhārī: whether he be a Sikh of the Khalsa who keeps his beard and hair (kes ) uncut, or whether he be a devotee of the Guru who does not observe the rahit in its full rigour and cuts his hair. The term sahaj-dhārī is normally translated 'slow-adopter', i.e. one who is moving towards a full acceptance of the Khalsa discipline but who has not yet proceeded further than an acceptance of Nanak's teachings concerning salvation. A more likely etymology relates the compound to Guru Nanak's characteristic use of the word sahaj to designate the ineffable bliss which ultimately results from the disciplined practice of nam simaran. If this theory is correct the term sahaj-dhārī should be construed, in its broad sense, to mean 'one who accepts the nām simaran teachings of Nanak', without any reference to the adoption of the Khalsa discipline. See EST, p. 35n. For the author of the rahit-nama, however, it has a more particular meaning. It is characteristically used in contradistinction to kes-dhārī and as such signifies its opposite. Whereas kes-dhari means 'one who retains his kes' (with the clear implication that he does so in obedience to the strict Khalsa rahit), sahaj-dhārī designates one who cuts his hair and who thus falls short of the Khalsa ideal. Such a person is evidently regarded as one who hovers on the Panth's boundaries. At certain points in the rahit-nama (such as this reference in 1) he seems clearly to be included within its bounds. Elsewhere, however, the firm insistence on maintenance of the kes logically requires his exclusion. The same ambivalence continues to the present day.
- 9. pañj isanānā[i ]: the 'five ablutions', washing of hands, feet and mouth. GM pp. 361, 690.

- 10. banī (vanī): sound; speech; precept. In Sikh usage banī (or gurabanī) designates the utterances of the Gurus and Bhagats recorded in the sacred scriptures (the Adi Granth and Dasam Granth).
- 11. hath jor kai: 'bringing the hands together', joining one's palms in the traditional gesture of reverence or respect. The term is commonly (and inaccurately) translated as 'with folded hands'.
- 12. The word aradās is the Punjabi form of the Persian 'arz-dāsht, 'a written petition'. The Punjabi version has developed two distinctive meanings. Used in its ordinary, general sense it means a deferential request. In Sikh tradition the verb aradās karanā is commonly used to express the act of laying a petition before the Guru, and the Gurus themselves used it as a form of address to Akal Purakh. GM, pp. 36-37. At some stage during the eighteenth century, however, aradās assumed a more specific meaning in Sikh usage. There developed the convention of prefacing requests for divine assistance with the invocation to Chandī dī Vār (DG p.119), an introduction which calls to mind the grace and virtues of the first nine Gurus (TSSS, p. 103). To this was added a similar reference to the tenth Guru and the supplemented invocation came to be known as Ardas in a particular sense.

In its earlier form Ardas seems to have comprised only the supplemented Chandi di Vär invocation. See Attar Singh of Bhadaur, The Rayhit Nama of Pralad Rai &c. (Lahore, 1876), Nand Lal section, p. 5n. This portion remains mandatory in the modern version and together with the two concluding lines it is the only portion of Ardas which is unalterable. In the modern Ardas, however, a lengthy sequel follows the standard invocation. There exists a generally agreed standard text for this sequel, most of it comprising a review of the past trials and triumphs of the Panth (SRM, pp. 11-13). Although personal intercessions are commonly introduced towards the end of the prayer the agreed text is normally followed for all that precedes and follows.

The two meanings of the word aradās are quite clear and normally it is possible to distinguish whether the general or the particular sense is intended. In the ChS text, however, it is not always possible to determine the word's intended sense with complete certainty. There can be no doubt that most of its few appearances are to be read as references to the offering of prayer. What is not clear is whether or not such prayer should follow a standard format. The contexts in which the word appears do, however, favour the possibility of formal prayer and it has therefore been included in the English translation as 'Ardas', not as 'prayer' or 'petition'. The word appears in sections 1, 108, and thrice in the Nand Lal section. For examples of the general usage see 49, 573, 604,

During the time of Ranjit Singh (perhaps earlier) the term temporarily acquired a third meaning. For Ranjit Singh's administration aradās could mean a monetary contribution to the ruler (Indu Banga, The Agrarian System of the Sikhs, New Delhi, 1978, p.159n.).

- 13. The dharamasālā, cult centre of the early Panth, was a building or room used for worship, congregational assembly, discourse (kathā), the singing of devotional songs (kīratan), or any other religious purpose (B40 (Eng), p. 82n). The term evidently held its own throughout the period of the Gurus, but during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it gradually gave way to guraduārā (anglicised as 'gurdwara'). The custodian of a dharamsala was called a dharamsalia. See also note 135.
- 14. sādh sangat: 'an assembly of the pious'.
- 15. mathā tekaṇā: 'to place the forehead [on the ground]', to prostrate oneself by going down on hands and knees, and from that position touching the ground with one's forehead.

- 16. dharam kī krit kare, jehī vähagurū devai : 'whatever dharma occupation may be conferred by the Guru (vāhagurū)'. This injunction incorporates the conventional understanding of dharma (Pbi. dharam) as a specific occupation and range of duties associated with n particular caste. One's caste is divinely conferred, and with it the occupation which one should pursue. For a discussion of the term vāhagurū see the Introduction, pp.47-48.
- 17. M1, Sārang kī vār 22:1, AG p. 1245.
- 18. rahurās sodar (usually sodar rahirās or simply rahirās). The general term rahirās, literally 'straight path', now bears the meaning 'supplicatory prayer'. The specific title sodar designates the shabad by Guru Nanak in Asa raga which begins with the words so daru. Sodar rahirās is the group of shabads which together constitute the evening liturgy, so called because the group begins with Nanak's Asa shabad. The liturgy is daily sung by devout Sikhs as night falls.

A comparison of this rahit-nama reference with modern practice indicates that the modern form of the liturgy retains at least two basic features of its eighteenth-century precursor. The first is that the selection of shabads begins with the  $\overline{A}s\overline{a}$  shabad which gives the liturgy its name. The second is that it has always been sung as an evening service. (The actual hour is specified in the Nand Lal section.) The original content is not clear, however, nor is the pattern of development which intervenes between this reference from the mid-eighteenth century and the fixing of a modern standard form.

In the Adi Granth the shabad Sodar heads a bracket of five shabads which seem plainly to have constituted a liturgical order by the time the scripture was compiled in 1603-04. They appear as a cluster in the introductory portion of the Adi Granth, together with other individual items and similar clusters. The introductory portion of the Adi Granth comprises the following:

- i. The Mul Mantra (AG, p.1)
- ii. Guru Nanak's Japji (pp.1-8)
- iii. The Sodar group of five shabads (pp.8-10) .
- iv. The So Purakh group of four shabads (pp.10-12) v. The Sohilā group of five shabads (pp.12-13)

The fact that the Sodar group appears in this form seems plainly to confirm that it had already emerged as a liturgical order by the beginning of the seventeenth century and there is no reason to doubt that it was, then as now, an evening order.

This, however, leaves some features of Sodar Rahiras still unclear. Some of these emerge from a comparison of the order currently in use with that which was evidently followed a century ago. The current liturgy comprises the following:

#### Sodar

- M1, Āsā 1, AG pp. 8-9, 347-48.
- ii. M1, Āsā 1, AG pp. 9, 348-49
- M1, Asa 2, AG pp. 9-10, 349
- iv. M4, Gūjarī 1, AG pp. 10, 492
- M5, Gūjarī 1, AG pp. 10, 495

#### So Purakh

- M4,  $\bar{A}s\bar{a}$  2, AG pp. 10-11, 348 M4,  $\bar{A}s\bar{a}$  53, AG pp.11-12, 365
- M1, Asa 29, AG pp. 12, 357
- M5, Āsā 29, AG pp. 12, 378

#### [Miscellaneous]

Benati Chaupai, DG pp. 1386-88

M10, Savayyā and Doharā, DG p. 254

M3, Rāmakalī Anand, stanzas 1-5 and 40, AG pp. 917, 922 xiii. M5, Mundāvanī and shalok, AG p.1429.

This may be compared with the selection listed by Attar Singh of Bhadaur in The Rayhit Nama of Pralad Rai &c . (Lahore, 1876), p. 4 of the Nand Lal section, note \*:

- i. Verses from the Asawar [Āsā di Var]
- ii. Soodrasa [Sodar]
- iii. Chaupai
- iv. Dhore [Dohare], Bachitr Natak, Akal-ustat or glory to God; and several stanzas from the Ramayana
- v. Anand
- vi. Mandawani by Guru Arjan
- vii. The prayers in the 1st paragraph of the history of Bhagwati [the invocation at the beginning of Chandi di Var, DG p. 119]
- viii. A benediction upon all gurus and temples.

The first issue pointed up by this comparison is the presence of material in the Attar Singh version which is not to be found in the modern order. Items 7 and 8 of the Attar Singh version are obviously the introductory portion of Ardas (see above note 12), and the fact that they should have been recited as a part of Rahirds scarcely constitutes a discrepancy. The same cannot be said for the Rāmāyana stanzas, but they can safely be treated as a latter-day excrescence. The principal problem concerns the Asā dī Vār extract. Although this is omitted from the SRM list it is included in Vir Singh's text of Rahiras where it is identified as shalok 1 of pauri 12 (AG p. 469). Vir Singh (ed.), Pañj granthi sațik (Amritsar, 1966), pp. 73-75. According to Vir Singh its inclusion derives from 'early practice' (purătan mariyādā). Ibid., p.73n. This leaves its actual introduction clear while indicating the possibility of growth since the original framing of the Rahirās order.

The same uncertainty must attach to the So Purakh and miscellaneous sections, particularly to the latter. Although neither the ChS reference nor Attar Singh's list mention the inclusion of the So Purakh shabads it seems likely that they were a part of the liturgy from its inception. Their inclusion in the introductory portion of the Adi Granth testifies to a liturgical intention; and their placement between the Sodar early-evening order and the Sohila late-evening order supports the traditional view that they are in fact a part of the former. There is, moreover, no reference in the janam-sakhi or rahit-nama literature which suggests a separate usage. The fact that the So Purakh group is distinguished in the Adi Granth text from the Sodar sequence may conceivably indicate that a separate usage was envisaged by Guru Arjan when he compiled the scripture. If so, there is no indication of what this intention might have been, nor of actual fulfilment of any such intention.

- 19. kathā kīratan gobind charachā kare suņe. The word kathā means 'exposition' or 'homily'. Normally it will consist of a hermeneutical discourse on some passage from scripture, but it may also include the relating of a story (with appropriate commentary) from the janam-sakhis or traditional Sikh history. In a general sense kiratan means the singing of religious songs. Sikh usage explicitly limits it to the singing of gurabanī (compositions by the Gurus or other works recorded in the Adi Granth).
- 20. Farid, Śalok 112, AG p.1384.
- 21. bīrī kare. The word bīrī, which normally means a preparation of betel leaf and areca nut (otherwise known as pan ), here means a dental-stick. Dictionary of the Punjabi

Language (Lodiana, 1854), p.342.

- 22. PSP, p. 71, specifies only thandhe pant (cold water). For a description of current Punjabi attitudes concerning pollution derived from sexual functions see Paul Hershman, 'Virgin and Mother', in Ioan Lewis (ed.), Symbols and Sentiments: cross-cultural studies in symbolism (London, 1977), pp.269-92, especially pp.271-73.
- 23. M2, Vār Mājh 18:1, AG p. 146.
- 24. pañjī melī. The usual form is pañj mel. This is the first of two lists of reprobates given in ChS. The second appears in section 31.

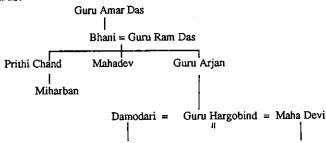
25. The first three of the panj mel (the five reprobate groups) as listed by ChS comprise the followers of three unsuccessful contenders for the title of Guru, all of them members of the Sodhi family and close relatives of the legitimate incumbents.

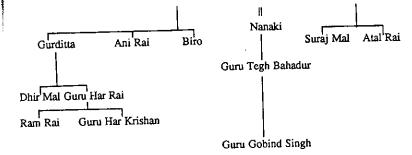
i. The Minas were the followers of Prithi Chand and, in turn, of his son and successor Miharban. Prithi Chand, the eldest of the three sons of Guru Ram Das (1574-81), was passed over by his father in favour of the youngest son, Arjan (1581-1606). Those who gave their allegiance to Prithi Chand and his successors were stigmatized Minas, or unscrupulous rogues, by the adherents of Guru Arjan's line. See section 248 and EST, p.33.

ii. Ram Rai (1646-1687) was the elder of Guru Har Rai's two sons. While still a child he was despatched to Delhi, evidently to act as a surety on his father's behalf. According to Sikh tradition he forfeited the right to succeed his father as eighth Guru by the answer which he gave in response to a question from the Emperor Aurangzeb. He was (so tradition relates) to explain Guru Nanak's apparently insulting reference to the making of earthenware pots from the dust of deceased Muslims (mitti musalaman). Ram Rai assured the emperor that the correct reading was actually mitti beiman, the dust of the faithless deceased'. Although it seems unlikely that this incident (if in fact it occurred) could alone account for the disinheriting of Ram Rai it may nevertheless be accurate to the extent that it crystallizes in a single anecdote a general truth concerning the relationship between Ram Rai and the Mughal emperor. Whatever the reason, Ram Rai was certainly deprived of the legitimate succession. Granted a jagir in the Dun valley by Aurangzeb he withdrew there and established the derā which was to develop into the city of Dehra Dun. His followers came to be known as Ram Raias. MK, pp.775-76.

iii. Dhir Mal (b.1627) was the elder son of Baba Gurditta. The fact that his father had been the eldest son of Guru Hargobind would have provided him with a right to the succession had a tradition of primogeniture been established. The office of Guru had indeed become hereditary in the line of male descent from Guru Ram Das, but not necessarily through the eldest son. Dhir Mal's younger brother, Har Rai, was chosen by his grandfather as the seventh Guru, leaving Dhir Mal as an unsuccessful and disaffected claimant. According to tradition Dhir Mal held the original manuscript copy of Guru Arjan's Adi Granth and ChS briefly records the story concerning Guru Gobind Singh's unsuccessful attempt to obtain it from his grandson (176). The followers of Dhir Mal were known as Dhirmalias.

MK, pp.198-99, 775, indicates the following pattern of descent from the third and fourth Gurus:





The two remaining groups to be reprobated by the Guru's loyal Sikhs are, according to ChS:

iv. The Masands (mel masand).

v. Those who acknowledge the authority of the Masands (mel masandle).

The word masand is evidently a corrupted version of the Arabic masnad, 'throne' or 'one who sits on a throne' (MK, p. 698). In early Sikh usage it was used as a title to designate the surrogates appointed by the Gurus to exercise delegated authority within specific geographical areas. The duties of a masand certainly included the collecting of dasavandh (the 'tenth' or votive offering which Sikhs were expected to render to the Guru) and presumably extended to a more general leading and shepherding of a local sangat or group of sangats. The origin of the office is obscure, traced by some to the time of the third Guru (Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, vol. 1, p. 53) and by others to that of the fourth Guru (MK, p.698; Macauliffe ii.271). Their subsequent history is also obscure. It is, however, evident that they acquired an increasing independence during the course of the seventeenth century and that this growing sense of self-importance eventually amounted to a dangerous disloyalty. Sikh traditions are unanimous in ascribing this view to Guru Gobind Singh.

It appears that it was the insolent disobedience of the masands which brought the word khālsā into prominence. The 'Khalsa' or 'royal domain' comprised those Sikhs who, by reason of geographical proximity, owed their allegiance directly to the Guru without need of a masand as intermediary. Having decided that the masands were no longer trustworthy Guru Gobind Singh evidently instructed his Sikhs to renounce their intermediate allegiance to disloyal masands and transfer it (together with their dasavandh) to the Khalsa. Authority previously exercised by individual masands was thereafter to be corporately assumed by sangats. J. S. Grewal, From Guru Nanak to Maharaja Ranjit Singh (Amritsar, 1972), pp.60-61. J.S. Grewal and S. S. Bal, Guru Gobind Singh (Chandigarh, 1967), pp.113-115, 128-29. For other ChS references to the masands and their iniquities see 35, 184-88, 590. For an explicit definition of masandia (mel masandie), see PrS, p.91.

Although the identity of the panj mel varies there appears to be universal agreement that the masands are to be numbered amongst them. The PSP text follows this rule and also agrees with ChS (and with dominant tradition) in naming the Minas and the Ram Raias. The Dhirmalias and Masandias are, however, omitted. According to PSP, p.71, the pañj mel comprised: i. the Minas; ii. the Ram Raias; iii. those who kill female infants (kurī-mār); iv. those who observe the head-shaving ritual (bhadanī); v. the Masands. Sainapati, writing in 1741, refers to the execrated groups as simply 'the five', but implies that they are to be distinguished from the heinous siragum or 'hair-cutters' by mentioning the latter in the preceding line (Srī Gur Sobhā, 5:19:135). The two ChS lists evidently follow soon after this early non-specific reference, well in advance of the versions which are provided towards the middle of the nineteenth century by Ratan Singh Bhangu and Santokh Singh. According to Ratan Singh the five comprised Minas, Masands, those who kill female infants (kurī-mār), Ram Raias, and narī-mār or users of the hookah, i.e. smokers (Prāchīn Panth Prakās, Amritsar, 1962, p.44). Santokh Singh agrees with this list apart from the nari-mar who are displaced by the Dhirmalias (SPr, rut 3, ansū 35; Vir Singh edition, pp.50-57).



The question of which groups constituted the panj mel was, like all important features of the Rahit, scrutinised during the period of the Singh Sabha movement. The result appears in Guramat Prakāś Bhāg Sanskār, the rahit-nama issued by the Chief Khalsa Diwan in 1915. In this compendium the panj mel are listed as: i. the Minas; ii. the Masands; iii. the Dhirmalias; iv. those who are siragum; v. the Ram Raias. GPBS, pp. 26-27. Kahn Singh Nahba predictably agrees with this list and defines a siragum as one who having accepted amrit [viz. one who has been initiated as a member of the Khalsa] subsequently cuts his hair (GM, p.350). To these five groups the Singh Sabha reformers added three more. Loyal members of the Khalsa were also forbidden to fraternise with hookah-users (naṛī mār), those who kill female infants (kuṛī-mār), and any who slander the Gurus (gur-nindak). GPBS, p.27.

Sikh Rahit Maryādā, the rahit-nama issued by the S.G.P.C. in 1950, makes no reference to the pañj mel. It does, however, include in its initiation rubric a list of 'transgressors' (tanakhāhīe). The first item in a list of seven tanakhāhīe reads:

They who associate with Minas, Masands, Dhirmalias, Ram Raias and other such enemies of the Panth are transgressors, as are they who associate with smokers, killers of female infants, and [initiated Sikhs] who cut their hair (siragum).

- SRM, p.37

- 26. Depraved leaders produce depraved disciples.
- 27. M3, Vār Bihāgare 16:1, AG p. 554. The writer is not necessarily correct in treating this quotation as a proof text which denounces the use of intoxicating liquor. It appears more likely that Guru Amar Das is referring to wine in a metaphorical sense. He writes of jhūthā madu, the 'wine of falsehood' which clouds a man's understanding and thus blinds him to the truth of God.
- 28. *PSP*, pp. 71-72. These three injunctions, which do not appear in the *GNDU/SRL* text, have evidently been interpolated as they disrupt the numbering sequence of these texts.
- 29. 'True is the divine Name! Praise to the Guru!'
- 30. Kabir, Gond, 11, AG p. 873.
- 31. The English word 'touch' has been deliberately chosen because it bears a dual connotation and because the purport of the injunction seems to imply both meanings. The term used in the SRL text (judh nā kare) could be translated as 'harm' and as such would come closer to the literal meaning. As Piara Singh Padam indicates, however, the context of this particular injunction seems clearly to be warfare conducted against Muslims with the implied opportunity to seize and violate women (PSP, Introduction p.28). The injury done to women in such circumstances would be a specifically sexual harm and the translation here adopted is intended to imply both physical assault and sexual contact. Kahn Singh confirms this interpretation. The term turakaṇī nāl yudh is, he states, a Khalsa idiom meaning musalamānī bhogaṇī, 'sexual intercourse with a Muslim woman' (GM, p. 358).

The variant reading sang given in the GNDU and PSP texts sustains the sexual connotation while eliminating the narrow warfare context (GNDU, f. 6b; PSP p.72). According to this variant reading all association with Muslim women is proscribed. Piara Singh Padam, citing Santokh Singh's Sūraj Prakāś as support, suggests that the sense of the injunction should derive from a tradition concerning Guru Gobind Singh. Confronted by a claim that Muslim women should be seized as a retaliatory measure, the Guru is said to have responded with a firm denial (ibid.). The passage from Sūraj Prakāś which provides the basis for this interpretation (SPr, rut 6, ansū 20:18-19, Vir Singh edition, p.5815) is actually a part of Santokh Singh's version of the Sau Sākhīān. Attar Singh's translation of the Sau Sākhīān exclusively declares with reference to this incident that

sexual contact with Muslim women is to be avoided because it is polluting. (Attar Singh, Sakhee Book, Benares, 1873, sakhee 32, pp.66-67.) In other words, the intention of the proscription is not primarily to afford protection to defenceless Muslim women, although this must necessarily be a result. The purpose of the prohibition is that the male Sikh should be protected against pollution.

Kahn Singh Nabha offers another explanation for the injunction. At the time it was enunciated, he suggests, most prostitutes were Muslim women, with the result that the terms musalli (a Muslim woman of the sweeper caste) and turakani (any Muslim woman) were used synonymously to mean 'courtesan'. This indicates, he claims, that the prohibition is actually directed against sexual intercourse with any woman other than one's wife and may thus be summarised as a ban on adultery. (GM, p.546n. Guramat Sudhākar, p. 307n. See also GPBS, p.26.) The argument is, however, strained and the anti-Muslim context of the injunction makes it clear that the prohibition is specifically directed against sexual intercourse with Muslim women whatever their status or occupation. It is clearly a part of the wider condemnation of polluting contact with all Muslims.

- 32. Pakhayān Charitra 405:396, DG p. 1387. The word malechh normally designates a Muslim in traditional Sikh terminology. The import of the quotation in this context is plainly an exhortation to destroy Muslims. The quotation is taken from the portion of Pakhayan Charitra known as Benatī Chaupāī. See TSSS, pp. 99-100. For the pre-Muslim understanding of malechh see Romila Thapar, The image of the early barbarian in early India' in Comparative Studies in Society and History 13 (1971), pp.408-436.
- 33. par-istrīā[n] dā sang na kare. This could mean 'nor should he consort with another's women', without necessarily implying sexual contact and both the GNDU and PSP copyists affirm this non-sexual sense by using the words par-istrīān dī sangati nā baithe (GNDU, f. 7a; PSP, p. 72). Normally, however, istrī dā sang karanā means 'sexual intercourse with a woman' as the PSP copyist makes clear on two earlier occasions (PSP, pp. 71, 72).
- 34. *PSP*: 'Have nothing to do with those who smoke (*naṛī-mār*) or slay female babies.' The *naṛī* is the stem of the hookah. The death of a female baby could be effected by pressing her face into the placenta so that she suffocated in her mother's blood. Ved Mehta, *Daddyji* (London, 1972), p. 12.
- 35. M3, Asā Paṭṭi 6, AG p.435.
- 36. PSP: naṛī-mārān, smokers.
- 37. In its strict sense monā designates a male who has undergone ritual shaving of the head. Cf. bhadaṇa (80 and note 108). Modern usage applies the word to any Sikh who cuts his hair,
- 38. hath jorae. Maya Singh, The Panjabi Dictionary (Lahore, 1895), p. 437.
- 39. charanā[n] dī pāhul. The relationship between a guru and his disciple has commonly been symbolised by a ritual use of water, sanctified by contact with the guru's foot (charan pl.charanān). Two terms which are used to denote this custom are charanān dā jal and charan-āmrit. Cf. section 60. In practice the sanctifying process is effected by merely touching the water with a toe. It does not require total immersion of the foot, much less the kind of detergent operation implied by the common translation 'foot-wash'. Water thus sanctified by the master is then drunk by the disciple as a token of his submission. The term charan dī pāhul indicates that the administering of the drink is to be understood as an initiation ritual. The instructions which follow in section 16 specify that

the water which is to be used for this purpose should be sanctified not by contact with the foot of a living Guru but by contact with a lectern supporting the scriptural Guru. Elsewhere, however, a ritual is prescribed for newly-born babies which requires that water mixed with raw sugar should be touched by the feet of five Sikhs before it is given as an initiatory drink. See sections 60 and 88.

The actual status of the *charan dī pāhul* initiation rite as prescribed in *ChS* is not entirely clear. What it does *not* denote is initiation into the Khalsa. This is effected only by *khande dī pāhul*, the administering of water which has been stirred with a *khandā* (two-edged sword). See sections 61, 90, 178-82. The *charan dī pāhul* rite was evidently understood to signify a form of preliminary admission to the Panth, serving only as a threshold to full-fledged membership of the Khalsa. As such it seems plainly to be a relic of earlier pre-Khalsa practice, doomed to ultimate extinction as the *khandā* rite progressively assumed exclusive authority.

Kahn Singh declares the *charan* rite to be the pre-Khalsa form of panthic initiation automatically abolished by the institution of *khande di pāhul* (GM, p.78). This evidently represents a simplified interpretation, telescoping into a single event a process which actually extended over many decades.

40. For Guru Nanak's Japjī and Guru Amar Das' Anand see notes 18, 359. Modern usage normally appends the honorific Sāhib to each title, thus indicating the particular reverence which the two works are traditionally accorded. In each case the five prescribed stanzas were presumably the first five. This would certainly have been the practice in the case of Anand Sāhib. The portion of this composition which is sung as a part of the approved marriage service in use today (Anand kāraj) comprises the first five and the fortieth stanzas (AG pp. 917, 922). As this ChS rubric indicates, the practice of singing or reciting these stanzas as an integral part of the Sikh marriage ceremony has a lengthy pedigree. The convention was, however, widely abandoned during the first half of the nineteenth century, possibly earlier. Restoration of Anand kāraj as the only order approved for Sikh marriages was a major concern of the Singh Sabha movement. The Singh Sabha campaign eventually issued in the Anand Marriage Act of 1909.

For the precise order to be followed when celebrating a marriage according to the Anand rite see SRM, pp. 25-28. Abbreviated accounts are to be found in Jogendra Singh, Sikh Ceremonies (Bombay, 1941), pp. 10-19; and Surinder Singh Johar, Handbook on Sikhism (Delhi, 1977), pp. 146-47. For a discussion of the claim that the Anand rite derives from a precedent set by the Nirankari sect from 1855 onwards see John C.B. Webster, The Nirankari Sikhs (Delhi, 1979), pp. 16-18. See also TSSS, pp. 81-82, 117-20.

- 41. According to PSP, p.73, the initiates should be given the sweetened water to drink.
- 42. M2, Vār Mājh 22:2, AG p. 148. The line is an obscure one. Other translations are possible.
- 43. The Kes-dhari Sikh should wash his hair only with water which has been taken straight from a well. It should not be filtered through a cloth. The *PSP* version reads: 'A Gursikh should never pour on his hair or beard water from a barber's bowl.' *PSP*, p.73.
- 44. jagat dā gurū: 'Guru of the World', a highly exalted title which one might expect for Guru Nanak but scarcely for any religious preceptor of the post-Guru period regardless of how distinguished he might be. It presumably refers to the kind of teacher who today would be known as a sant.
- 45. sikhā[n] pāso[n] hath jurāe: '[He should go] to the Sikhs and have them join their palms.' The reference is to the reverent joining of palms in supplication to the Guru. In this context it invokes the custom whereby the members of a sangat stand with palms joined while a particular individual makes a personal petition.

- 46. sevā. The concept of sevā is closely associated with the dharamsala or gurdwara. Sevā may be rendered in money, in the giving of appropriate articles or commodities (such as food for the langar), or in labour. The latter variety of sevā might consist of reading the sacred scriptures, waving a fan, serving food in the langar, washing utensils or cleaning the premises.
- 47. M4, Gauṛī Guāreri 41 (1), AG p. 164.
- 48. M1, Asā Ast 15:(4), AG p. 419. The quotation has been mistakenly attributed to a Sant (i.e. Bhagat).
- 49. M3, Surplus Shaloks 1, AG p. 1413.
- 50. M1, Surplus Shaloks 17, AG p. 1411.
- 51. M1, Vār Āsā 16: 2, AG p. 471
- 52. turak.
- 53. jogī. This probably refers to yogis of the Nath tradition, prominently represented by the janam-sakhis as powerful rivals of Baba Nanak. They are also known as Kanphat yogis. EST, pp.66-70; B40 (Eng), pp.91ff., 132ff., 193, 208ff.
- 54. Shamsher Singh Ashok construes pagalathā to mean 'he from whom the turban [of self-respect] has been removed, viz. a disreputable person'. Gurū khālse de rahit-nāme (cyclostyled document, Amritsar, 1979), p.4n.
- 55. sirakuthā. A Pothohari term which designates a person who for religious reasons shaves a portion of the scalp leaving the remainder intact. It is, however, possible that it refers to a sect of Jains who plucked their hair out by the root and were known as sirakuthā. MK, p.149. Cf. AG p.150. It is also possible that it refers to the shaving of the head in a more general sense and, as such, is intended to designate all sanyasis who adopt the practice. In conjunction with the two terms which precede it and the three which follow it sirakuthā would thus become a general condemnation of all who adopt an ascetic way of life.
- 56. liṣīān. Presumably from laṭā, 'having matted hair'.
- 57. dhūṛīān, from dhūṛ or (dhūl), 'dust'.
- 58. Prior to the arrival of Europeans in the Punjab a topī (cap, hat or helmet) normally distinguished the wearer as a Muslim. A topī vālā was specifically a Mughal, particularly a Mughal soldier (cf. 384-85). The word used in section 31 is topīān. As one of a list of spurious teachers it can hardly designate a Mughal soldier and it is unlikely to mean simply 'Muslim' as this category is evidently covered by the first in the list (turak). 'Muslim faqir' is perhaps the strongest possibility, one which receives some support from janam-sakhi usage. When the janam-sakhis wish to represent Baba Nanak as an ascetic they sometimes include a top or topī in his inventory of garments (cf. B40 (Eng), pp.109, 184) and illustrations from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries commonly depict him wearing head-coverings which are plainly intended to be top or topī. The adoption of the Khalsa ban on hair-cutting ensured that for Singhs of the Khalsa the only possible head-covering would be a turban.
- 59. gaddīān, 'those who sit on gaddis'. The term gaddī, 'throne' or 'seat of authority', designates the status or office of any who exercise superior jurisdiction, whether worldly or spiritual. It could, for example, refer to the office held by the mahant of a math or to



- the position of the religious leader who today would be called a sant. Within the Khalsa only the Guru can occupy a gaddi and all who lay claims to one ought therefore to be spurned. It is possible that this particular reference is intended to reinforce the condemnation of masands (see note 25). It is also possible that gaddiān may be a cognate form of gadāī, 'begging', and that it should thus be translated as 'sadhus who beg'. In place of gaddīān the PSP text has brāhaman (PSP, p.74).
- 60. The place where the  $puj\bar{a}r\bar{i}$  discharges his responsibilities is not specified, nor is it indicated for the  $adhak\bar{a}r\bar{i}$  who is briefly mentioned in section 33. It seems clear, however, that both terms must be intended to designate the functionary who is charged with the worship and maintenance of a dharamsala or gurdwara (the person who today would be called a granthi). A third term  $(dharamas\bar{a}li\bar{a})$  is introduced in section 46 as a synonym for  $adhak\bar{a}r\bar{i}$ , and in sections 69-72 this third option is accorded an emphasis which suggests that of the three possibilities 'dharamsalia' is the title preferred by the ChS compiler. In a strict sense  $puj\bar{a}r\bar{i}$  is inappropriate as it implies the notion of a Brahman officiant performing the idol-worshipping rituals of a Hindu temple. Such a notion would surely be anathema to a devout Sikh. It is obviously used in a loose sense to designate a dharamsala custodian (much as the English word 'priest' is often used to designate religious functionaries who expressly disclaim sacerdotal functions). This should not suggest, however, that the word  $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$  (worship) lacks specific meaning for the ChS compiler. In section 41 he insistently enjoins  $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$  of the sword; and in section 109 the Sikh returning from travel is urged to offer thanksgiving  $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$  at his dharamsala.
- 61. He should show his respect for their sacred forbears by performing all services without normal perquisites or reward. The obvious beneficiaries would be members of the Bedi got who trace their descent from Guru Nanak, and members of the Sodhi got descended from Guru Ram Das or any of the subsequent Gurus who produced lineages. It could also refer to Trehan Khatris claiming descent from Guru Angad or to Bhalla Khatris tracing their ancestry to Guru Amar Das. See also 107.
- 62. M5, Vār Gaurī 39:2, AG p.315.
- 63. Kabir, Sorath 9, AG p.656.
- 64. bhāī, 'Brother', a simple title of great reverence which traditionally has been conferred on Sikhs of acknowledged piety and learning. Amongst those who have received the title are Bhai Gurdas, Bhai Nand Lal, and Bhai Mani Singh. The title continues to be used today with its strong sense of respect still intact, two twentieth century examples being Bhai Vir Singh and Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha. A secondary usage has, however, developed in modern times whereby ragis (professional singers of kirtan) are commonly known by the same title. When applied to ragis it loses much of its traditional veneration and may even be used in a mildly pejorative sense.
- 65. mahant, 'superior', designates the head of a religious establishment such as a Nath derā or an Udasi akhāṛā. Its reputation has, for modern Sikhs, been tarnished beyond redemption, for it was the title applied to the hereditary proprietors of gurdwaras who became such a scandal to the Sikh community during the early years of the twentieth century. From this ChS reference it appears (from its association with the indubitably respectable 'Bhai') that 'Mahant' may have been an acceptable title within the Panth. In both instances, however, they were titles which could only be conferred, never assumed.
- 66. M5, Gaurī Sukhamanī 12(3), AG p.278.
- 67. M1,  $V\bar{a}r\,\bar{A}s\bar{a}$  17:1, AG p.472. In the AG context the fence (dalāl) is normally identified as the Brahman who acts as a go-between in conducting a  $sr\bar{a}dh$  ceremony. Sabadārath, p.472, n.15. Darapan, III.674.

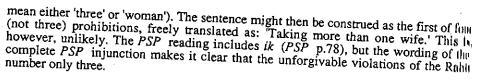
- 68. M5, Dhanāsarī 23(3), AG p.676.
- 69. M5, Bārah Māhā Mājh 9, AG p.135.
- 70. Namdev, Sārang 3, AG p.1252.
- 71. asthan gurū ke, 'the place [or shrine] of the Guru'.
- 72. sirī sāhib, the sword of a Khalsa Sikh. GM, p.351.
- 73. M1, Vār Āsā 5, AG p.465.
- 74. M1, Vār Mājh 20:2, AG p.147.
- 75. In ChS the word prasād sometimes means 'ordinary food'. Here, however, the reference is evidently to the sacramental food karāh prasād or 'food prepared in a karāh', the karāh being a large shallow iron receptacle used for boiling confectionery and other food. Karah prasad is a sweet preparation comprising equal parts of coarsely refined wheat flour (ātā), clarified butter (ghī) and sugar, with water added. For the method of preparation see Jogendra Singh, Sikh Ceremonies (Bombay, 1941), pp.95-96. It is distributed in gurdwaras and following such rites as akhand pāth, Khalsa baptism, and the Anand wedding ceremony. The actual origins of the practice remain a mystery, except insofar as the giving of prasād has, since time immemorial, been associated with Hindu temple worship. The distinctive connection with an iron utensil suggests that the Sikh karāh variety of prasād probably developed as a Khalsa ritual and should thus be traced no further back than the early eighteenth century. There is, however, a reference in Bhai Gurdas's first vār (BG 1:36) which may indicate that the practice dates from the sixteenth century.
- 76. The phul, viz. whatever remains of finger-bones and toe-bones following cremation. MK, p. 613.
- 77. hari-saru, 'the Water of Hari'. MK, p.198.
- 78. kathā: oral commentary on sacred scripture or the narrating of pious anecdotes. Kīratan: corporate singing of devotional songs. The kathā and kīratan should continue for as many days as the family of the deceased can afford to provide hospitality to the relatives who come to mourn.
- 79. bhog, lit. 'pleasure' (esp. sexual pleasure), sexual intercourse, consummation. In Sikh usage the term also designates the ceremonial concluding of a complete reading of the Guru Granth Sahib. The ChS compiler uses it only in its religious sense, preferring sang and nār-bhet for sexual intercourse. In addition to complete readings of the Adi Granth he also uses it when referring to completed recitations of Japjī Sāhib (25). A complete reading may be performed in one of three ways: i) An akhand pāṭh, or 'unbroken reading'. This requires a relay of readers who, working in shifts, complete a reading without intermission. The task takes approximately forty-eight hours and like all complete readings concludes with a formal bhog. ii) A sequence of intermittent readings timed to conclude at the end of a pre-determined period. The most common form is the sapatāhik pāṭh, a complete reading of the Guru Granth Sahib spread over seven days. This style may be adopted for much longer periods. A reading may, for example, be extended over a complete year with the bhog timed to fall on a child's birthday, a spouse's death anniversary, etc. iii) The sādhāran pāṭh, or 'ordinary reading'. This has no pre-ordained date for its bhog and no required frequency for its instalments.

- type. His instructions enjoin the family of the deceased to determine in advance how many days of hospitality they can afford; to divide the Granth Sahib into an equivalent number of sections; and to read one section each day until the reading has been completed. The bhog ceremony should then be held, after which the guests will disperse. The modern bhog ceremony is conducted in the following manner. If guests are to be present they are invited to assemble immediately before the projected time for completion. The actual reading concludes with either the Rāgamālā or (for those who dispute the authenticity of the Rāgamālā) Guru Arjan's Mundāvaņī, the work which immediately precedes it on the last page of the Adi Granth. The Anand Sāhib is then read, Ardas is recited, and the ceremony finally terminates with a distribution of karah prasad to all who are present (SRM, p.20). This, however, is not the procedure prescribed in ChS. According to section 141 a complete reading should conclude with Japjī Sāhib.
- 80. jathā sakat sikhān de hath dhuāe, lit. 'cause as many Sikhs as possible to wash their hands'.
- 81. A Hindu ceremony performed annually on behalf of deceased forbears, the purpose being to assist their passage to Paradise or to whatever destination has been determined by their karma. The rite includes an offering of food to assembled relatives and Brahmans. The ChS compiler notes that if the deceased was a Sikh the distribution to Brahmans should be replaced by a general distribution to the Sikhs who are present. Because of its specifically Hindu nature the Singh Sabha reformers, fortified by oblique criticisms in the scriptures, mounted a successful attack on observance of the custom by Sikhs. (N.G.Barrier, The Sikhs and their Literature, pp.26-27. GM, pp.472, 479. SRM, p.30.) The Nand Lal section suggests, however, that the śrādh must have been generally accepted in the eighteenth century Panth (GNDU, ff.200b, 202b-203a; SRL, ff.99b-100a, 101a). This likelihood is supported by the B40 Janam-sākhī. See B40 (Eng), pp.235ff.
- 82. sarakāro[n], 'from government [funds]'.
- 83. This refers to the practice of vowing to make payment (in cash or kind) of a specified amount, or to perform a promised task or penance, if a particular petition is granted by the Guru. Such petitions might include the birth of a son or the averting of some impending disaster. A famous example from Sikh hagiography is the story of Makhan Shah, the merchant who vowed during a storm at sea to give the Guru five hundred gold mohurs if he should be spared.
- 84. Kabir, Āsā 16, AG p.479.
- 85. M4, Var Gaurī M4 15:1, AG p.308.
- 86. M5, Bhairau 34, AG p.1145. The same words are also incorporated within a longer line from Guru Arjan's Asā 41, AG p.381.
- 87. [viśavās]-ghātī: killer [of trust].
- 88. The traditional guratī is a potion prepared from raw sugar and other ingredients which is ritually administered to an infant immediately after its birth (MK, p.318). The initiatory water is to be charan dā jal prepared in accordance with the charan-āmrit ('foot-nectar') ritual (see note 39). For the eighteenth century Khalsa the sanctifying role is to be discharged by pañj piāre (five Sikhs in good standing) and the water administered as a birth ritual.
- 89. khande dī pāhul. See note 39.

- 90. sutak or sūtak: the forty-day period of ritual uncleanness which a woman undergoes after giving birth. This reference, together with the injunction to administer sword-baptism to infants, is omitted by PSP. If the PSP version (p.77) is accepted the translation will read: 'If he is to be brought up a Kes-dhari his hair should be left uncut from birth.' This accords better with other injunctions which appear in sections 88 and 90.
- 91. The intended meaning may perhaps be: 'wash [the child's hair] with curds.' Cf. 92, 335, 391, 482.
- 92. M1, Vār Sārang 20:1, AG p.1245.
- 93. Sikhs owe their allegiance exclusively to the Guru and to the Guru's Panth.
- 94. Possibly a corrupt version of M5, Gond 8(1) and 9(2), AG p.864.
- 95. M1, \$\bar{A}s\bar{a}\$ 25, \$AG\$ p.356.
- 96. tambol or tamol, lit. a betel leaf but used to designate gifts of clothing or cash bestowed by relatives and friends at the time of marriage. MK, p.432.
- 97. pagarī, 'turban'. At the pagarī ceremony following a man's death the elder son is invested with a turban and formally charged with the responsibilities incumbent on him as his father's heir and successor.
- 98. M5, Vār Jaitasarī 14, AG p.709.
- 99. The custodian of a dharamsala responsible for arranging and leading its worship (corresponding to the modern granthi). See notes 13, 60.
- 100. grihast. The dharamsalia must be either a life-long celibate or a married man who has separated himself from his family in the interests of his religious vocation.
- 101. vand khāe: one who shares his food with others.
- 102. M5, Gūjarī vār 3, AG p.518.
- 103. M1, Var Bihagare 20:1, AG p.556.
- 104. This injunction seems to suggest that the title of Pir might conceivably be applied to a Sikh. For masand, see note 25.
- 105. M1, Vār Rāmakalī 14:1, AG p.954. The first line of the couplet has been inadvertently omitted:

The Pandavas weep; they have become common labourers.

- 106. gur ke sikh musadī jo sirakār turakā[n] dī vichi hain. musadī (Arabic mutaṣaddī): a clerk, low-ranking accountant or administrative officer. The word has been construed literally because of the subsequent reference to sirakār turakā[n] dī. In 1849, however, J.D.Cunningham reported in his History of the Sikhs that the musadīs constituted a class 'composed of devotees of the Muhammadan religion who have adopted the "Jap" of Nanak as their rule of faith'. He adds: 'The Musaddis are further said to have fixed abodes in the countries westward of the Indies.' (Loc.cit., Delhi, 1955, p.349.)
- 107. GNDU and SRL both have ik trihu binā. The first word should probably be ihu. If ik is correct the sentence could perhaps be translated as 'other than one woman' (trihu can



- 108. bhadhaṇā (bhadaṇā). Strictly the shaving of the head as in the Hindu puberty rite of the preparation for a Hindu funeral. The use of the word in this context suggests, however, that it may have been used by eighteenth century Sikhs to designate any serious violation of the ban on hair-cutting. Whereas Muslim rulers would never require the formul shaving of heads they might well insist that their servants (particularly those of high rank) should have their beards cut in order to weed out potentially dangerous Sikhs. This with in fact done during the time of Banda's uprising. Muzaffar Alam, 'Sikh uprisings under Banda Bahadur, 1708-1715', Studies in History I.2 (1979), p.207. If in this context bhadaṇā (or bhadaṇā) means hair-cutting of any kind it presumably bears the same meaning wherever it occurs in the ChS text. Cf. monā, note 37. In the Nand Lal section bhadaṇ seems to bear the traditional sense of shaving the head (GNDU f.196a, SRI,
- 109. bikhiā: 'poison'. Etymologically the word derives from the Sanskrit viṣaya, a sense object (of which there are traditionally five), worldly or sensual enjoyment, an object of pleasure or lust. In AG usage bikhiā and bikh characteristically mean anything which deludes or confuses clarity of perception. This may include alcohol or poison. Cf. AG pp. 328, 330, 892, 937, 1200, 1352. In later Punjabi usage bikhiā is increasingly used to mean tobacco. It is difficult to determine precisely when it acquired this specific sense, but it appears to be as old as the Khalsa abhorrence of tobacco. There seems to be little doubt that this is the exclusive meaning of the word whenever it is used in ChS. See also GM p.362; GPBS p.27. The Nand Lal section uses tamākū, the Spanish word of (GNDU ff.197a, 198a; SRL ff.98a-b).
- 110. This injunction is also recorded in the *Bansāvalī-nāmā*. Kesar Singh Chhibbar, however, adds a fourth item to the list of unpardonable sins: associating with any of the *pañj mel* (*B-n* 10: 356-58).
- 111. [a]ghorī, a member of the Aghor panth. Aghoris were Saivite mendicants distinguished by their decrepit clothing and by their willingness to consume the filthiest of food, including excrement and human carrion. As a receptacle for food and drink Aghoris commonly used a human skull. MK, p.33.
- 112. The SRL version translates as: 'Gursikhs should show no sympathy towards transgressors of the Rahit who worship at tombs and sepulchres (marie).' See 137.
- 113. M4, Asā 54, AG p.366.
- 114. hukaī: one who smokes a hookah.
- 115. yār: a wanton person (male or female); adulterer; fornicator.
- 116. M1, Vār Sārang 7:1, AG p.1240.
- 117. M3, Gauṛī Bairāganī 27(5), AG p.233.
- 118. guramantar. This is presumably the same as sat nām mantar, the mantra of the Khalsa which is imparted to the neophyte at the time of initiation (90). The mantra may have comprised nothing more than the sanctified expression sat nām (True Name), or it may

have been a longer formula incorporating the term, e.g. sat nām vāh gurū. Trumpp claimed that the 'ground mantra' was sat akāl srī gurū (E.Trumpp, The Adi Granth, London, 1877, p.cxiii). The mantra was evidently to be regularly repeated as a devotional exercise and used as a pious ejaculation. This assumes, of course, that the mantra consisted of a single word or a brief phrase. Writing in the late nineteenth century, however, Gian Singh identified the guramantar as the first five stanzas of Japjī Sāhib (idem, Tavārīkh Gurū Khālsā, Part I, Patiala, 1970, p.860).

- 119. M5, Śalok Sahaskritī 33, AG pp.1356-57. The ChS version differs substantially from the AG text.
- 120. jur: the topknot which the male Sikh forms by tying his long hair in a knotted bunch on the crown of his head.
- 121. vāhigurūjī kā khālsā vāh[i]gurūjī kā fate[h].
- 122. sat nām mantar. See above note 118.
- 123. bhand bhagatīā. bhand (bhānd): an itinerant entertainer, buffoon, mimic. bhagatīā: a professional dancer.
- 124. M4, Devagandhārī 6, AG p.528.
- 125. M5, Gaurī Bāvan Akharī 27, AG p.255.
- 126. M4, Vār Gaurī 9:2, AG p.304.
- 127. M1, Vār Malār 21, AG p.1288.
- 128. In the Adi Granth  $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$  signifies the corrupt and corrupting world with all its snares, seductively presented to man as permanent and incorruptible and thus masquerading as ultimate truth (GNSR pp.185-7, 243). In ChS, however, it means simply money, filthy lucre.
- 129. M1, Mārū Solahe 9(13), AG p.1029.
- 130. The word kāṇā is used in two distinct metaphorical senses in addition to its literal meaning of 'having only one eye'. The literal meaning obviously applies to the reference in section 122 listing features which disqualify a man from administering the Khalsa rite of initiation. The more obvious of the metaphorical usages is the meaning which must here be attached to the proper method of distributing food, viz. without partiality (kāṇā na hovai). The other metaphorical sense derives from a line in the Adi Granth by Namdev (AG p.875):

# hindū annā turakū kāṇā.

The Hindu is blind, the Muslim one-eyed. The term thus applied to the Muslim came to be used as a synonym for Muslim (MK, p.237; GM, p.352).

- 131. See 107 and note 61.
- 132. M5, Dhanāsarī 24, AG p.677.
- 133. See note 60.
- 134. Guru Nanak explicitly declares that visiting tiraths is a futile exercise (GNSR pp.210-11, 213). It is, however, made clear in a subsequent injunction in section 121 that the

compiler has in mind destinations which are very different from the traditional Hindu tiraths. Sikhs who proceed on pilgrimage should only visit 'places associated with the Gurus'. It is evident that the compiler is prepared to retain traditional Hindu terminology, but with distinctively Sikh meanings. Another example is pujārī (see note 60).

135. The word guraduārā (anglicized as 'gurdwara') is here used in a sense which clearly implies a meaning different from that of dharamasālā. The local centre for assembly and worship was the dharamasālā (see note 13). The guraduārā on the other hand was evidently a special place which one visited on pilgrimage in the manner that one visited a tirath. This suggests a distinction between the two terms. The distinction is, however, limited to this particular context. It marks an early stage in a complementary transfer, one which progressively restricted the meaning of dharamasālā while simultaneously enlarging the sense of guraduārā.

Within the Sikh tradition dharamasālā was originally used to designate the structure in which a local sangat gathered for congregational singing (kiratan) and religious discourse (kathā). The term gurū duārā, on the other hand, referred not to a particular place or building but to the grace of the Guru, understood as the mythical 'voice' of God. Guru Amar Das uses it in this sense in Sirī Rāgu 17-50, AG p.33:

devan-vāle kai hathi dāti hai gurū duārai pāi

The gift [of salvation] is from the [divine] Giver and is obtained through the Guru (guru-duārai).

Although this was plainly the Adi Granth sense of the term it was soon to undergo change. Places associated with the Gurus acquired particular sanctity and as such imparted a special blessing. In this way the single word guraduārā evidently came to be applied to Sikh places of pilgrimage (locations which are today marked by the so-called 'historic' gurdwaras).

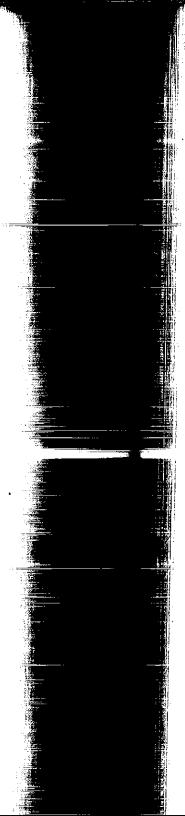
Meanwhile circumstances were preparing for the shift in meaning which was to dislodge dharamasālā. Two developments eventually produced this change. The first was the attribution of the Guru's authority to the Adi Granth. When the sacred scripture received the role and status of Guru it ipso facto became the means whereby grace was communicated gurū duārā. The second development was the practice of installing copies of the sacred scripture in dharamsalas. This meant that the means of grace and guidance was now located within the sangat's place of assembly. The place of assembly, formerly a dharamasālā, thus became known as a guraduārā.

The varying ChS usage of both dharamasālā and guraduārā indicates that the two terms were in transition during the mid-eighteenth century, each retaining an earlier sense yet perceptibly moving towards its modern meaning. Whereas in sections 1 and 3 dharamasālā designates the sangat's place of assembly, the sense explicitly stated in 144 is that of a hospice maintained for travellers. It is thus shifting from the cult-centre itself to an appendage of the cult-centre. This it does in response to the presence of the sacred scripture. The intermediate phase which effectively produces this change is also represented in the ChS text. References in 132 and 498 specifically note the presence of the Granth Sahib within the dharamsala, and mention of prostration in 559 clearly implies

Meanwhile guraduārā is moving into its place. In 111 and 112 it bears the restrictive meaning corresponding to tirath. The usage in 416, however, renders it synonymous with the early meaning of dharamasālā. In this latter instance it evidently applied to the regular gathering-place of the sangat and as such acquired its normal modern meaning.

- 136. M1, Japjī 21, AG p. 4.
- 137. This injunction is very difficult to construe. The translation is uncertain.
- 138. Sections 113-115 (GNDU ff. 11a-12a, SRL ff. 21b-22b) have been recorded out of place. They belong with the apocalyptic material which begins with section 569. This is clear from their distinctive language (particularly the verb forms), from their subject

- matter, and from their use of the withering term raule  $d\bar{a}$  sikh. These sections do not appear in the PSP text.
- 139. M1, Vār Mājh 21:1, AG p. 147.
- 140. M1, Gaurī Bairāganī 18:3, AG p. 229.
- 141. M1, Vār Āsā 12, AG p. 470.
- 142. M1, Asa 36, AG p. 359.
- 143. M1, Sirī Rāgu 4, AG p.15.
- 144. rajak ghāt: the bank of a stream or edge of a tank where dhobis (rajak) wash clothes.
- 145. tate pāso, viz. turak pāson, 'from a Muslim'. PSP, p. 85n.
- 146. iis daiā vich vighan nikale: lit. 'the kind of compassion which produces obstacles',
- 147. udāsī, 'solitude'. The word implies withdrawal from worldly concerns. It is used by the Puratan janam-sakhis to describe the travels of Guru Nanak (EST, pp. 30, 110-11, 179), which indicates that these journeys were originally perceived as 'withdrawals'. The strong emphasis on a missionary purpose is evidently a later interpretation. The word udāsī is also used to designate the sect of Sikh ascetics who claim descent from Guru Nanak's son Siri Chand (EST, p.35; B40 (Eng), p. 96).
- 148. Farid, Śalok 129, AG p. 1384.
- 149. M10, Krisan āvatār 2489, DG p. 570.
- 150. GNDU adds: 'Do not engage in discourse with any who are disposed to argue' (f. 35a).
- 151. chandal: the offspring of promiscuous intercourse between a Shudra man and a Brahman woman; an outcaste; a sweeper.
- 152. Chandī charitra ukati bilās 146, DG p. 88.
- 153. M1, Vār Mārū 1:1, AG pp. 1086-87.
- 154. Ibid., p. 1087.
- 155. Source not identified. Not in AG or DG.
- 156. BG XXXIV.2.
- 157. M1, Vār Āsā 15, AG p. 471.
- 158. M4, Vār Gaurī 8:2, AG p. 303.
- 159. M1, Vār Āsā 5:2, AG p. 465.
- 160. M1, Dakhanī Oankār 4, AG p. 930.
- 161. M3, Vār Bilāval 1:2, AG p. 849. This injunction is not quite as puritanical as the English translation may suggest. In a semi-literate society, without access to mass-produced printing, songs normally assume the sexually suggestive function which



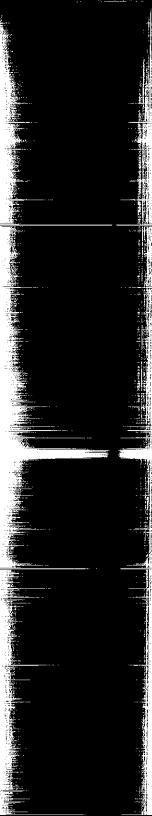
in much of the modern world is covered by printed text, illustrations, cinema, and television. When the rahit-nama writer warns his readers and hearers against the ras ('flavour') of worldly music he almost certainly has its sexual associations in mind.

- 162. sākhī: an anecdote concerning Guru Nanak; a story from a janam-sakhi.
- 163. M3, Rāmakalī Anand 24, AG p. 920.
- 164. M5,  $\bar{A}s\bar{a}$  62, AG p. 386.
- 165. See note 18.
- 166. mathā teke. The action indicated by the common expression mathā tekaṇā, 'to place the forehead', involves crouching on one's hands and knees and touching the ground with one's forehead as a gesture of reverence and submission. Elsewhere in the English translation it is rendered 'to prostrate oneself'.
- 167. pārasu bheţie, 'touched by the pāras', is presumably a quotation from the Adi Granth. The words occur in Guru Amar Das' Prabhātī Bibhās 1(10), AG p.1346. The pāras is the legendary philosopher's stone which turns any base metal which it touches into gold.
- 168. Kabir, Śalok 156, AG p. 1372.
- 169. vāhagurū jī kī fate[h]. See above note 121 for the complete form. Whereas the complete form was clearly regarded as mandatory in the order for baptism (90, 181) this abbreviated form was evidently to be used as a benediction (as in this instance) and as a greeting (150-51, 363). There is, however, disagreement concerning this shortened form. The PSP text records a specific prohibition of its usage (PSP, p. 97).
- 170. Farid, Śalok 95, AG p. 1382.
- 171. Lit. 'The Guru is his, he is the Guru's.'
- 172. kasabī: lit. 'one who works for wages'. The usual connotation is 'prostitute'. It appears to have been included in this injunction by mistake. The PSP version is pakhanḍī, 'hypocrite'.
- 173. gor (tomb), marī (shrine of a deceased Hindu), qabar (tomb). A marī differs from the Muslim gor or qabar in that the body of the deceased will have been cremated and the structure thus neither contains nor covers a corpse. Such cenotaphs are often to be found at cremation grounds and the word marī is commonly used to designate the actual cremation ground rather than commemorative cenotaphs. In modern usage the latter is normally called a samādhi. For relevant AG and DG texts see GM, p. 758.
- 174. 33 Savayye 1, DG p. 712.
- 175. M5, Sarang 113, AG p. 1226.
- 176. M5, Sārang 13, AG p. 1206.
- 177. M5, Āsā 43, AG p. 381.
- 178. M5, Gaurī Sukhamanī 5(7), AG p. 269.
- 179. A minor variant in the SRL text, although almost certainly an error, suggests an intriguing alternative meaning. The GNDU and PSP versions both conclude the injunction with the

three final words of the shalok by Guru Angad which has been placed at the end of Japjī Sāhib (AG, p. 8). In place of chhuṭī the SRL had chhaṭī and thus concluded with keṭī chhaṭī nāli. The word keṭī can mean niśān, 'symbol'; and chhaṭī (modern form chhaṭī) means 'stick'. Assisted by a certain measure of translator's licence one might arguably construe keṭī chhaṭī nāl to mean that the writer is instructing his readers to conclude each reading of the Granth Sahib 'with a symbol made with a [marking]-stick'. This could be taken to mean the practice of inscribing an auspicious symbol (such as a swastika) on one of the blank folios at the end of an Adi Granth manuscript after completing an unbroken reading (akhaṇḍ pāṭh) of that particular manuscript. The actual completing of a reading of the entire scripture is called the bhog (see above note 79) and the commemorative symbols are thus known as bhog marks. An example of this practice is provided by the superb manuscript copy of the Adi Granth held by the British Library (BL MS. Or. 1125).

Such an interpretation would, however, be far-fetched. The point is worth noting only because it draws attention to the absence of *bhog*-marking instructions in the *Chaupā Singh Rahit-nāmā*. References to the practice of performing akhaṇḍ pāṭh are also conspicuous by their absence.

- 180. vāh gurū, vāh gurū.
- 181. man (manas): the human faculty combining the mind, heart, and soul of conventional Western usage; the psyche (GNSR, pp.178-81).
- 182. M5, Bilāval 58, AG p.815.
- 183. Lit. 'five, seven, ten or a hundred Sikh households'.
- 184. M1, Dhanāsarī 7, AG p.662. Sahib Singh, Srī Gurū Granth Sāhib Darapan, vol.5, p.13, interprets this line as follows: 'That man is declared to be trustworthy in which purity resides.'
- 185. M5, Bilāval 88, AG pp.821-22. The 'five demons' are the five evil impulses (lust, anger, covetousness, attachment, and pride). GNSR, pp.184-85,
- 186. M5, Sūhī 54, AG p.749. The compiler neglects to quote Guru Arjan's Sūhī 42, p.745, which also refers to the kes,
- 187. M1, Rāmakalī Aṣṭ 7(3), AG p.906. The AG version reads: When Yama, rushing [in], seizes you by the kes and strikes you, falling unconscious you disappear into the jaws of Death.
- 188. M5, Gūjarī Dupade 20, AG p.500. The AG version reads: 'To wipe the feet of [your] slaves with my kes is my dearest desire.'
- 189. Kabir, Gond 2, AG p.870.
- 190. Kabir, Śalok 25, AG p.1365.
- 191. M10, Akal Ustat 252, DG p.35.
- 192. There now follows a series of brief aphorisms, almost all of them expressed in a simple three-word form. The style is distinctively different from that normally used for recording Rahit injunctions in *ChS*.
- 193. deg: cauldron, cooking-pot. In eighteenth century usage the deg symbolizes the langar, the kitchen attached to every dharamsala or gurdwara. The langar itself symbolizes the



generosity of the Guru bestowed on a commensal society.

194. See note 75.

195. purī, purīā: a small bag or packet made from leaf or paper.

196. See 516.

197. M2, Vār Sūhī 7:3, AG p.787.

198. SRL, f.43b.

199. PSP p.93.

200. srī akāl purakh: the Timeless One, God.

201. pūran purakh: the Perfected One, Guru Gobind Singh.

202. This description of the sixth Guru is a free translation of the term teg deg de dhani, 'the blessed one of the sword and cooking-pot'.

203. According to Puranic cosmography the world comprised a series of concentric dvipa or 'continents' (normally computed as seven), with Jambudvipa situated at the very centre of the system. Jambudvipa was itself divided into nine varsa or 'regions'. Bharat-varsa (India) lay at the outer extremity and Mount Sumeru (or Mount Meru) at the very centre. Between the regions lay mountain ranges, the first of them being the Himalayas. The name Hem Kund (also Hem Kunt and Hem Kut), 'golden-peaked', was variously applied to two of Jambudvipa's prominent features. It was the name attached to the second of the dividing mountain ranges, the one separating the second varsa (Kinnar) from the third; and it was also applied to Mount Sumeru which was believed to consist of solid gold.

The tradition that Guru Gobind Singh had performed austerities on Hem Kund in a previous incarnation derives from *Bachitra Nāṭak*, attributed to the Guru himself.

And now my own story I tell.

How from rigorous austerities I was summoned by God;

Called from the heights of Hem Kunt

Where the seven peaks so grandly pierce the sky.

-Bachitra Natak 6:1, DG p.54

It is difficult to tell whether this reference in Bachitra Nāṭak points to Mount Sumeru or to the Hem Kund range of mountains. Whereas the singular form hem kunt parabat in the third line implies a single mountain, the 'seven peaks' (sapat-sring) of the fourth line seems better suited to the latter possibility. For the ChS narrator, however, its meaning is clear. Hem Kund is identified with Mount Sumeru and it was thus on the mountain of gold at the centre of the universe that the tenth Guru performed his austerities before taking birth as the son of Guru Tegh Bahadur. Mount Sumeru also figures prominently in the janam-sakhis (EST, p.145; B40 (Eng), p.91).

204. sammat 1718 māg de mahīne krisan pakh thit satamī ravivār, corresponding to 31 January 1662. There is considerable controversy concerning Guru Gobind Singh's date of birth, though most sources agree that it took place in S.1723 (1666 A.C.). The strongest contender is Poh sudī 7, S.1723, corresponding to 22 December 1666. (Grewal and Bal, Guru Gobind Singh, Chandigarh, 1967, p.30; MK, p.321; Macauliffe iv.358).

205. Magh *vadī* 7, S.1718, was a Friday.

206. madra des: the Punjab. Madra Des has been variously identified as the area between the Beas and Jhelum rivers; between the Beas and the Chenab; and between the Satluj and the Ravi (MK, p.709).

207. khidāvā: one who is employed to supervise and entertain a small child.

208. The Bansāvalī-nāmā, 10:6-7, claims that the Guru was taught Gurmukhi by Harijas Rai, another member of the Chhibbar Brahman family.

209. A script very similar to Gurmukhi which was used for bookkeeping and accounting records. The script was used for many of the inscriptions which appear on the Pahari paintings of the period mid-seventeenth to early nineteenth centuries. It survived in the Punjab Hills well into the nineteenth century, but was eventually abandoned (W.G.Archer, *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills*, London, New York and Delhi, 1973, vol.1, p.xxxi). It is difficult to determine when it disappeared from the plains, partly because its use was private and partly because its similarity to Gurmukhi presumably permitted an imperceptible process of assimilation. For an example, see Archer, vol.2, pp.139, 151. *PSP* omits Takri but expands the reference to Gurmukhi (*PSP*, p.87).

210. PSP: śāstrī, viz. Deva-nagari. PSP, p.88.

211. Kirpa Ram Datt, a Brahman from Matan in Kashmir, was a first cousin of Chaupa Singh. His mother was the sister of Chaupa Singh's father. He served both the ninth and tenth Gurus as scribe and translator, and was killed at the Battle of Chamkaur (Piara Singh Padam, Srī Gurū Gobind Singh jū de darabārī ratan, Patiala, 1976, pp.79-80). See Introduction, p.16.

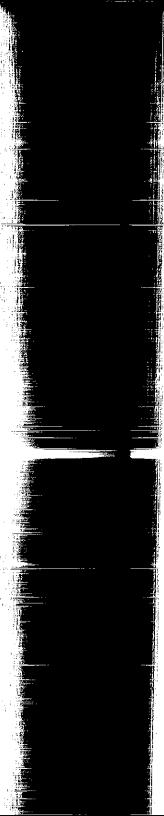
212. The first of Guru Gobind Singh's three marriages was to Jito, daughter of Bhikhia Khatri of Lahore. The generally accepted date of the marriage is 23 Har, S.1734 (7 July 1677), a year and eight months after the execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur (MK, p.393; Grewal and Bal, op.cit., p.51).

213. The son of Chaupa Singh's nephew Hardayal (Piara Singh Padam, op. cit., p.88). See Introduction, p.16.

214. bānk: a dagger with a curved blade; paṭā: a long, broad, two-edged sword; phul-hathā: cudgelling.

215. The ChS narrative offers two accounts of the arrest and execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur (159-167, 265). Although the second account is much briefer than the first it supplies two details which are missing from its predecessor. The first is its claim that the reason for the Guru's arrest was a charge laid by his hostile relative Dhir Mal. The second is that the Guru set out to travel to Delhi in secret, but was arrested following an incident in a village where his attendant had been sent to bring water. This incident is related in clearer detail by Kesar Singh Chhibbar in the Bansāvalī-nāmā 9:64ff.

Although the version offered by ChS and the Bansāvalī-nāmā is very different from the traditional account of the arrest of Guru Tegh Bahadur (see for example Macauliffe iv.371ff.), its substantial accuracy receives support from the principal sources now used for reconstructing the events of the Guru's life and death (the Bhatt vāhīs and the Pāndhā vāhīs). See Fauja Singh and G.S.Talib, Guru Tegh Bahadur (Patiala, 1975), pp.xiii, 90ff. Two features deserve to be noted. The first is the close connection linking the ChS and Bansāvalī-nāmā narratives. It is at once obvious that they derive from a common source. The second feature, writ large in the two related narratives, is their concern to magnify the status and reputation of the Chhibbar Brahmans. See Introduction, pp.18, 45-46.

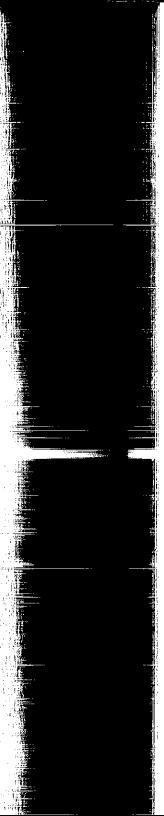


- 216. Guru Tegh Bahadur's first arrest and summons to Delhi took place in 1665. Fauja Singh and G.S. Talib, op. cit., p.44.
- 217. The concern of the two Chhibbar narratives (ChS and B-n) to vaunt the Chhibbar reputation is well illustrated by their emphasis on the roles of Mati Das and Sati Das during the events leading to the execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur. The brothers Mati Das and Sati Das were the sons of a Chhibbar Brahman who is variously named Hira Nand and Hira Mal (Fauja Singh and G.S. Talib, op. cit., pp.100, 101). Mati Das, the elder, was the Guru's divan, and Sati Das was his cook. The Chhibbar narratives are evidently correct in claiming that the two brothers were executed with their master. They mislead, however, in implying that the two Chhibbars were the only Sikhs to stand by the Guru and share in his death (ibid. p.97). For their place in the Chhibbar family tree see the Introduction, p.16.
- 218. Thursday, 11 November 1675.
- 219. M10, Bachitra Nāṭak 5:15-16, DG p.54.
- 220. sucham karake: 'keeping it undefiled'.
- 221. dui gharī pakkī tīk: 'for two complete gharīs'. A gharī is equivalent to twenty-four minutes.
- 222. hari-sar. See note 77.
- 223. According to Hindu custom the Garuda Purana is read during funeral ceremonies. In place of garar puran the PSP text has sanskrift saloka[n], viz. the Salok Sahaskrift which are recorded near the end of the Adi Granth (AG pp.1353ff; PSP, p.89).
- 224. braham bhoj jag: a ritual feast (yajanā, yagya, jag) at which Brahmans are fed.
- 225. For the masands see note 25. This reference concerns a period when the masands were still relatively respectable.
- 226. The wife of Guru Tegh Bahadur and mother of Guru Gobind Singh. Gujari was the daughter of Lal Chand, a Subhikhi Khatri of Lakhnaur (near Ambala) who had settled in Kartarpur. Her brother Kirpal Chand achieved prominence during the time of Guru Gobind Singh (Fauja Singh and G.S.Talib, op.cit., p.14).
- 227. sāhibazāde nū rāj tilak hovai: 'Let the young master receive [on his forehead] the symbolic mark of royal authority.'
- 228. kārakhānā ture: 'the workshop will function'. Kesar Singh Chhibbar uses the word in a sense which plainly designates the Guru's family and personal retinue or entourage (B-n 10:625).
- 229. Saturday, 24 March 1677. The traditional date of the consecration of Guru Gobind Singh is the first day of Baisakh, S.1733 (29 March 1676) (Harbans Singh, Guru Gobind Singh, Chandigarh, 1966, p.31).
- 230. See Introduction, p.17.
- 231. See Introduction, p.16.
- 232. Guru Har Rai (1630-1661).

- 233. Guru Har Krishan (1656-1664) and Guru Tegh Bahadur (1621-1675).
- 234. sar-o-pā: 'head to foot', a robe of honour, a khil'at.
- 235. A Sanskrit drama relating the adventures of Hanuman. According to legend the original, inscribed on stone, was cast into the sea at the instance of Valmiki who feared that it would overshadow his own Rāmāyana. Portions of it were eventually recovered during the reign of King Bhoja of Malwa (1018-1055) and by his command the entire drama was recorded anew. It is clearly the work of several hands and evidently dates from the tenth or eleventh century. (John Dowson, A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology &c, London, 1961, p.117; MK, p.194.)
- 236. 9 November 1678.
- 237. The feast, held on the anniversary of Guru Tegh Bahadur's death, was obviously a celebration of the śrādh rite. The PSP text refers to it as a śrādh ceremony.
- 238. Ruler of the hill state of Garhwal, defeated by Guru Gobind Singh at the Battle of Bhangani in 1688 (Grewal and Bal, pp.70ff).
- 239. The ChS narrator here refers to a tradition which Kesar Singh Chhibbar relates at greater length in the Bansāvalī-nāmā, a tradition which purports to explain how there came into existence a recension of the Adi Granth which incorporates works by the ninth Guru. The original version of the scripture was dictated by the fifth Guru to his amanuensis Bhai Gurdas in 1603-04. This manuscript passed from the sixth Guru to his grandson Dhir Mal, an unsuccessful aspirant to the title of Guru, who endeavoured to use it as support for his claim to the succession. It remained in the possession of his family and according to Kesar Singh Chhibbar the tenth Guru asked Dhir Mal in S.1753 (1696 A.C.) to surrender it. Dhir Mal scornfully replied that if Gobind Singh truly was the Guru he should prepare his own Granth. The challenge was accepted. Guru Gobind Singh dictated a fresh copy of the sacred scripture, thus producing what came to be known as the Damdama version (B-n 10:295-96).

For a more detailed statement of this tradition see GM, pp.411-414. The ChS narrator here presents it in summary form with one amendment. It was, he claims, the grandson of Dhir Mal to whom Guru Gobind Singh directed his request. The possibility that the tenth Guru made such a request is plausible but uncorroborated. The tradition that he subsequently dictated a new version is altogether implausible (Piara Singh Padam, Srī Gurū Granth Prakās, Patiala, 1977, pp.94-95; ESC, p.75).

240. Rup Kaur (or Anup Kaur) is said to have been a young and beautiful Khatri widow of Lahore who endeavoured to seduce the Guru. Posing as a sadhu she took up her abode near Anandpur and used hirelings to spread the news that the newly arrived sadhu could communicate with the goddess Devi. This information considerably interested the Guru, and when he sent a messenger to arrange an interview he was instructed to come alone at midnight, clad in the garb of an ascetic. After receiving him the disguised Rup Kaur retired and then reappeared as the kind of woman a young man might find difficult to resist. The Guru, however, rebuked her and departed. The disappointed temptress raised the cry of 'Thief!', but the Guru escaped in the resultant confusion. In order to warn others against such dangers he recorded the numerous stories of female guile which appear in the Dasam Granth as the Charitra. (John Campbell Oman, The Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India, London, 1903, pp.196-8). Oman, who names no source, adds that the Guru was persuaded by his experience to found the Nirmala order of Sikh sadhus (ibid., p.197). For the dominant traditions concerning the origin of the Charitra and the founding of the Nirmala order see MK, pp.343, 534.



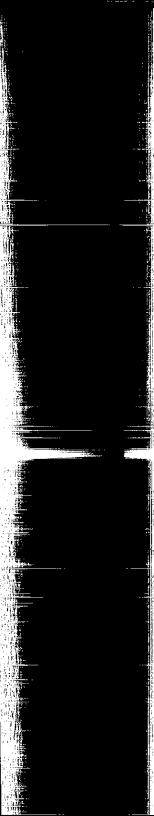
- 241. Charitra (properly called the Pakhyān Charitra or Charitropākhyān and commonly known as the Tria Charitra) comprises a lengthy collection of anecdotes recorded in the Dasam Granth (DG, pp.809-1388). Drawn from a wide range of sources (Epic, Puranic, Raiput, Persian and native Punjabi) these stories lay repeated stress on the impressive skills which women bring to the art of seduction. There are exceptions to this rule amongst the 404 anecdotes contained in the Charitra, but a substantial majority offer variations on the dominant theme of feminine wiles. Because the Dasam Granth is regarded as a sacred scripture the collection is usually interpreted as a series of cautionary tales designed to protect careless men from the perils of lust and thus to promote the cause of morality. This is the attitude which the ChS narrator has evidently adopted. It is, however, possible to read the Charitra as a diverting anthology which includes a large number of distinctly risqué contributions. Although the number is given as 405, number 325 is missing from the Dasam Granth. (MK, p. 343; Dharam Pal Ashta, The Poetry of the Dasam Granth, New Delhi, 1959, pp.150-165; C.H.Loehlin, The Granth of Guru Gobind Singh and the Khalsa Brotherhood, Lucknow, 1971, pp.48-51.) Ashta's treatment includes translations of sample narratives.
- 242. This date (corresponding to 8 September 1696) is given at the conclusion of the collection as recorded in the Dasam Granth (DG, p.1388).
- 243. Although Baisakhi Day, S.1756 (30 March 1699) is generally accepted as the date of the Khalsa's inauguration, other claims have been made, including the date offered here by ChS (15 July 1697). Kesar Singh Chhibbar supports S.1754, but diverges from ChS with regard to the actual day. Whereas ChS specifies the seventh day of Savan, the Kesar Singh Chhibbar version claims that it took place on the eighteenth day of Chet (B-n 10:319). The differing views concerning the date of the event are acompanied by a wide variety of conflicting claims relating to what actually happened. For a discussion of this issue see Grewal and Bal, op. cit., pp.182-189. Grewal and Bal wisely conclude that in view of the paucity of contemporary or near-contemporary evidence the historian should, in the meantime, suspend judgement on most aspects of the controversy. See also Ganda Singh (ed.), Srī Gur Sobhā (Patiala, 1967), intro. pp.36-40.
- 244. katorā: a shallow cup or bowl, usually made of a metal such as brass or copper.
- 245. karad, kārad: a crude knife used for domestic purposes. The PSP text has khandā, a two-edged sword (PSP, p.90).
- 246. The modern order of service for initiation into the Khalsa specifies ten savayye (the same ten as the daily nit-nem, viz. the ten taken from the Akāl Ustat 1.21-10.30, DG pp.13-15, (SRM, p.34). It is not clear which five savayye the ChS compiler had in mind.
- 247. The PSP text diverges from GNDU /SRL at this point. Having specified a khandā as the weapon to be used for stirring the baptismal water the PSP version then declares that five individuals were instructed to recite the savayyas. It continues:

Who [were these five? They were ]: Daya Singh, a Khatri from Lahore; Sahib Singh from Southern India, of the same caste (janam) as Sain [the Bhagat, viz. a Nai or Barber]; Himmat Singh of Jagannath Puri, a fisherman by caste; Dharam Singh from Hastinapur, of the same caste as Dhanna [the Bhagat, viz. a Jat]; and fifthly Muhakam Singh of the same caste as Namdev [the Bhagat, viz. a Chhimba]. These five Singhs began to recite the savayyas.

PSP, pp.90-91

- 248. patāsā: a soluble confectionery.
- 249. Again the PSP text diverges. In place of Dharam Chand it substitutes Mata Sahib Devi

- (sic Mata Sahib Devan, the Guru's third wife) as the person responsible for adding sweets to the baptismal water (PSP, p.91).
- 250. *a-mrit*: 'deathless'; the water of eternal life; the nectar of immortality.
- 251. Chanqī charitra ukati bilās 231, DG p.99. The final line also appears in the Krisan avatār 2489, DG p.570. See section 121.
- 252. vāhu gurūjī kā khālsā vāhu gurūjī kī fate[h]. Cf. 90.
- 253. The text gives as the Guru's response to Chaupa Singh: tanakhālao ino pāso. This comes very close to tanakhāh lo ino[n] pāso[n] which means 'Fine them' or 'Punish them'. With this slight amendment the response is actually a formula which properly belongs to a later portion of the text (see below note 300). In the context of the first initiation ceremony, however, it seems unlikely. Much of section 181 as recorded in the GNDU/SRL text is doubtful and the translation should not be read as definitive (GNDU, ff. 59a-60a. SRL, f. 42a-b). The PSP text (p.91) is coherent, but like the remainder of the PSP version of the first initiation ceremony probably represents a later amendment.
- 254. The rite which is to be performed is a sacred observance and karah prasad should therefore be provided. During the course of the rite (presumably at its conclusion) the karah prasad will be distributed to all who are present. See note 75.
- 255. M1, Japjī 16, AG p.3.
- 256. See note 118.
- 257. The Sikh festival of Hola, or Hola Mahalla, takes place on the first day of the month of Chet (Chetra, March/April), the day following the Hindu festival of Holi which falls on the last day of Phagan (Phalguna). The instituting of the festival is attributed to Guru Gobind Singh, the specific purpose being to provide for his followers a day of military exercises. The day is still celebrated at Anandpur Sahib with martial competitions and a mock battle.
- 258. Cheto's misdemeanours and the Guru's subsequent treatment of the masands is described in greater detail by Kesar Singh Chhibbar (B-n 10:333-355) and also in SPr. On the occasion of the annual Baisakhi and Divali festivals the masands were expected to bring to the Guru gifts which they had received on his behalf. Cheto, however, was appropriating gifts for his own personal enrichment and issuing false receipts. When this came to light he was supported by his fellow masands. The Guru's express summons were disobeyed, with the result that the masands and their adherents, together with the Dhirmalias, Ram Raias, and Minas (i.e. the pañj mel, note 25) were excommunicated. All loyal Sikhs were commanded to attach themselves to the Guru's Khalsa and render their allegiance directly to him. The ChS text is particularly corrupt when relating the story of the masands' rude disobedience and needs extensive supplementing in order to produce a coherent narrative. For a note on the reference to masands being burnt see Surjit Singh Gandhi, History of the Sikh Gurus, Delhi, 1978, p. 427. For Cheto the Masand see also Gian Singh, Tavārīkh Gurū Khālsā, vol. 1, Patiala, 1970, pp.865-66.
- 259. The SRL text omitted sections 185-246.
- 260. M1, Vār Āsā 22, AG p. 474.
- 261. surapur: 'city of the gods', Indra's abode.
- 262. The PSP version omits sections 194-280.



- 263. chār padārath: prosperity, goodness, success and salvation. MK, p. 347.
- 264. Bachitra Nāṭak 6:30, DG p. 57.
- 265. Ibid 6:29, DG p. 57.
- 266. Ibid 14:5, DG p. 73.
- 267. Ibid 6:32, DG p. 57.
- 268. Ibid 6:60, DG p. 59.
- 269. This story figures prominently in the Gurbilas literature and John Malcolm reported a version of it in his Sketch of the Sikhs (Calcutta, 1810), p. 222n. A century later Macauliffe related the transformed version presented by Gian Singh in Panth Prakās' (M.A. Macauliffe, The Sikh Religion, Oxford, 1909, vol.v, chap. viii. See also Khazan Singh, History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion, Part I, Lahore, 1914, pp.170-172). Surjit Singh Hans has noted the fascination which Durga exercised over the Sikh writers of the eighteenth century, particularly those responsible for the Gurbilas literature: 'Historical analysis of Sikh literature' (unpub. Guru Nanak Dev University PhD thesis, Amritsar, 1980), pp.419, 430-32, 458, 504-5. See also his articles 'The Gurbilas' in the early nineteenth century', Journal of Regional History II (1981), pp.51-53; and in particular 'Prem Sumarg a modern forgery' in Proceedings of the Punjab History Conference 1982 (Patiala, 1982), pp. 180-81. In the latter he argues that the so-called Prem Sumārag cannot be an eighteenth-century work precisely because it fails to mention the goddess Devi.

No eighteenth century Sikh writing, especially Gurbilases can fail to bring up Goddess or Devi. They are lineal descendants of the Bachittar Natak. They are nagged in varying degrees by the question of the appearance of the goddess before Guru Gobind Singh.

- Loc. cit., p. 181

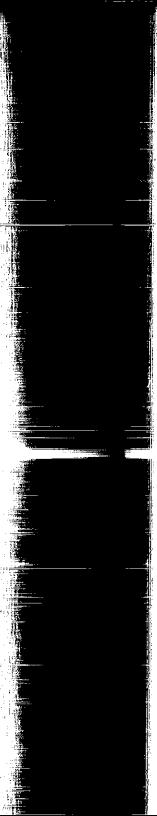
- For further definitions of the four varieties of Sikh see section 596. See also Introduction, pp.45-47.
- 271. The SRL text included section 247 which reads:

Sikhs should not behave in this manner. They should never contemplate such wickedness, such sins, such infamy,

This comment actually connects well with section 184 which precedes it in the SRL text. There is thus no visible evidence of an omission, apart from the discrepancy in section numbers which results.

- 272. jāmā: garment, body.
- 273. The first recension of the Adi Granth was dictated by Guru Arjan to Bhai Gurdas in 1603-04. ESC, p. 60.
- 274. See note 25.
- 275. M10, Akāl Ustat, Invocation, DG p. 11.
- 276. Source not identified. The couplet is not recorded in the Dasam Granth. The first three words translated as 'breeches, bangle, and a knife' are kachh ḍaḍhā karab. The translation assumes that ḍaḍhā must have the same meaning as kaṛā, and that karab should read karad.

- 277. M1, Surplus Shaloks 12, AG p. 1411.
- 278. M1, Vār Mājh 16, AG p. 145.
- 279. Surjit Singh Hans, 'Historical analysis of Sikh literature', pp. 182-92.
- 280. For the janam-sakhi story of Lalo and Bhago see EST, pp. 86-87.
- 281. The two rababis (the rabab-players who sang kirtan for the Guru) were Balvand and Satta, to whom an Adi Granth var is attributed (*Tikke dī Vār* in Ramakali raga, AG pp.966-68). For a different version of the story concerning their insolence, chastisement and eventual repentance see Macauliffe ii. 21-24.
- 282. For the tradition concerning the faithful service performed by Amar Das as Guru Angad's water-carrier see Macauliffe ii. 35, 42-43.
- 283. This story is related in the Mahimā Prakāś Kavitā, sakhi 24. Sarup Das Bhalla, Mahimā Prakāś, ed. Gobind Singh Lamba and Khazan Singh (Patiala, 1971), pp. 236-39.
- 284. This anecdote may possibly be a version of the story of Sahari Mal (Macauliffe ii. 276). Its principal features appear, however, to derive from the story of Chandu Shah, the Khatri of Lahore who unsuccessfully sought to marry his daughter to Guru Arjan's son, Hargobind. A traditional view of Guru Arjan's death attributes it to the malign influence of the humiliated Chandu Shah (Macauliffe iii. 70-100).
- 285. Prithi Chand (1558-1618) was the eldest of Guru Ram Das's three sons and Arjan (1563-1606) the youngest. The middle son was Mahadev (1560-1605) (MK, pp. 60, 603, 700, 775). For the tradition concerning Guru Ram Das's choice of the youngest son as his successor, see Macauliffe ii. 276-84. For a slightly different version of the story of Prithi Chand's attempt to poison the child Hargobind, see Macauliffe iii. 46-47.
- 286. The Pathans who committed treachery against the sixth Guru were Painda Khan and his associates. Painda Khan was an orphan who entered the Guru's service as a young man. Tradition relates that he was gifted with enormous physical strength and that this strength combined with his warrior skills won him high favour in the eyes of his Master. Conscious of his own ability he grew in pride which eventually turned to insolence. Eventually he was dismissed following an attempt to conceal the fact that his son-in-law had stolen a hunting hawk belonging to the Guru's son Gurditta. He complained to the Emperor who sent an army against the Guru in 1634. The army was defeated at Kartarpur in modern Jalandhar District and Painda Khan was slain by the Guru's own hand (Macauliffe iv. 52, 66, 88, 98-99, 191-208; MK, p. 588).
- 287. A person called Mihar Chand appears in the traditions relating to Guru Har Rai, but he does not match the description offered in this ChS anecdote. A great-grandson of Guru Nanak named Mihar Chand served as mahant at the Dehra Baba Nanak shrine during the period of the seventh Guru. There is, however, no indication that he bore enmity towards the Guru. He was, moreover, a Khatri of the Bedi got, whereas Mihar Chand is said in the text to have been a Khahir (Macauliffe iv. 288. MK p. 726).
- 288. There is no section numbered 266.
- 289. pandi: bundle, 'the burden [of responsibility]'.
- 290. The Guru and the sangat are one. The Guru is the Khalsa and the Khalsa is Guru. See Grewal and Bal, op. cit., pp. 125-6.



- 291. M5, Asa Chhant 11 (1), AG p. 460. The compiler has jumbled two lines of the Adl Granth original.
- 292. vahagurū niārā kītā hai. niara: separate, distinct; the process of separating gold from dross.
- 293. savā lakh.
- 294. M1, Dakhanī Oankār 27, AG p. 933.
- 295. The PSP text rejoins the GNDU/SRL text at this point. See above p.171.
- 296. jetā sabh akār. AG: jetā jagatu sansāru, 'the entire world'.
- 297. M3, Var Vadahans 21:1, AG p. 594.
- 298. M5, Gaurī Sukhamanī 18:1, AG p. 286.
- 299. purakhārat (puruṣārat): any of the four traditional goals of human life, viz. kām, the gratification of sexual desire; arath, the acquisition of worldly wealth; dharam (dharma), the discharge of duty; and mokh (mokṣa), emancipation.
- 300. tanakhāh: penance, fine. For a discussion of tanakhāh and its derivative tanakhāhīā, 'transgressor', see Introduction, pp.25-26, 32. In sections 287-547 most injunctions conclude with the formula so tanakhāhīā, 'he is a transgressor', or 'he should be required to perform a penance'. Whereas the Punjabi form is commendably brief its English translation would become intolerably cumbersome if repeated after each injunction. A somewhat different format has therefore been devised. The repeated usage of so tanakhāhīā (or the variant form su tanakhāhāā) is covered by a single introductory statement: 'The following offenders should be required to undergo a penance.' Thereafter the various offenders are listed without further mention of the fact that each is to be regarded as a tanakhāhīā. In a few instances the terminal formula has been strengthened in the original to read so pakkā tanakhāhīā, 'he is a grievous offender'; and in one instance the expression bhallā tanakhāhīā is used (443). The insertion of pakkā usually seems to be indiscriminate and no account has been taken of it (or of bhallā) in the translation.
- 301. chihare de rom: facial hair. Because this injunction is specifically directed to Sahaj-dhari Sikhs it presumably refers only to the beard and not to the hair on the head.
- 302. In ChS usage prasād sometimes means ordinary food, sometimes sacramental food (karāh prasād). See above section 45 and note 75. As in the section 45 instance the single word prasād seems better understood as karāh prasād in this and other references which occur in sections 288-296 passim. The usage implies a ritual context, notably in the case of prasād which is brought into the presence of the Guru Granth Sahib (290). In one instance reference is made to prasādi gur kā, 'the Guru's prasād' (294), a term which the Nand Lāl Rahit-nāmā uses in a manner which similarly implies ritual usage (GNDU, f. 200a; SRL, f. 99b). The references in 298-300, however, seem to designate ordinary food, although the first of them specifies food consumed in a langar.
- 303. See above section 31. It appears that Sahaj-dhari Sikhs as well as Amrit-dhari members of the Khalsa were expected to wear only turbans on their head.
- 304. Lit. 'One should wear one's loin-cloth within the man.' The word langot, 'loin-cloth', has strong sexual associations. A langot-band is one who keeps his langot fastened, viz. a celibate ascetic; and langot kholanā (lit. 'to open the langot') means to have sexual

- intercourse'. In place of a loin-cloth the Sikh should, of course, wear a kachh.
- 305. The SRL copyist added the following exhortation at this point:

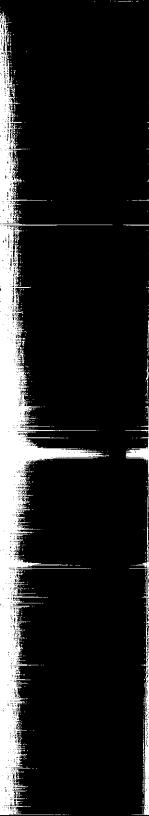
  Repeat [the words] 'Sri Vahiguru' continuously. [Do so] spontaneously with every breath, whether sitting or rising. This is a Sikh practice which [every] Sikh is expected to observe.

  The exhortation is obviously out of place in a tanakhāhīā list.
- 306. To purify a *chaukā* (cooking-square, or place where food is prepared) it is necessary to smear it with a mixture of mud and cow-dung.
- 307. zimedār vāsī. This presumably refers to the sarapañch or village headman.
- 308. Translation uncertain.
- 309. 'The act of spreading out the hand before a person's face, the palm being before him. This is a very grave insult.' (Maya Singh, *The Panjabi Dictionary* (Lahore, 1895), p.169). *PSP* version: 'The Sikh who in anger speaks ill of another Sikh.' (*PSP*, p. 94).
- 310. This offence, like the two which precede and the three which follow it, involves gross insult. The proscribed actions also imply challenges to the person thus insulted.
- 311. paradesī. In modern usage paradesī normally means 'foreign'. For the eighteenth century, however, it was much more restricted in terms of geographical distance. One's des was one's own area and this might well be limited to a few square miles.
- 312. jo sikh nū gurū dā māriā ākhe, lit. 'He who says to a Sikh, "May the Guru strike you down."
- 313. This offence and the one which follows may be proscribed because they imply disrespect to the sword or because the sword is less accessible if carried in such positions.
- 314. See note 9.
- 315. It is a simple matter to remove a turban without unwinding it and then to put it on again as one puts on a hat. The practice is here proscribed by the GNDU and PSP texts. SRL omitted this offence.
- 316. See note 118.
- 317. nache. This is unlikely to refer to the 'nautch' performed by dancing-girls as the proscription is evidently directed to males. It may refer to religious dances such as the Krishna lila, or perhaps to rural folk-dances such as the modern bhangra. If the proscription concerns the latter it has been conspicuously ineffective. The verb nachna also means 'to caper, frolic, romp'.
- 318. The proscription may also include the staining of finger-nails and toe-nails.
- 319. M4, Var Gaurī 15:1, AG p. 308.
- 320. bhādanī. See note 108.
- 321. PSP omits this offence.
- 322. pret: devil, fiend.



- 323. SRL omitted this offence.
- 324. In rahit-nama usage the term *malechh*, 'impure foreigner' or 'barbarian', normally designates a Muslim. See note 32. The intention of this regulation is not entirely clear, it evidently means that descendants of the Gurus, having received devout offerings from Sikhs, should not pass on any portion to the Muslim rulers as tax or for any other
- 325. SRL omitted this offence.
- 326. harāmī: one who does that which is unlawful; a fornicator.
- 327. kuttha: 'slaughtered'; the flesh of animals killed according to prescribed Muslim ritual.
- 328. nigure anipāhalīe nāl. This may specifically designate those who do not follow the Sikh Gurus and have not taken khande dī pāhul (see note 39); or it may refer in very general terms to all rascals and reprobates.
- 329. PSP omits this offence.
- 330. In these two items  $pras\bar{a}d$  may possibly mean ordinary food.
- 331. Cf. section 430.
- 332. SRL omitted this offence.
- 333. bagal-bandhī jāmā. The Prem Sumārag insists that the style of jāmā worn by Sikhs should be agal-bandhī (fastened at the front) (PrS, p. 15). The ChS rahit-nama makes the same point by proscribing garments which are fastened at the side. The reason for the ban is presumably that side-fastening was identified as a Muslim style. Side-fastened garments were a regular style during Mughal times and appear frequently in the art of the period. See for example Bichitr's famous portrait 'Dara Shikoh with Sages in a Garden'.
- 334.  $s\overline{u}h\overline{a}$  (Pothohari): red. Because it is a colour associated with women's clothing red is inappropriate for the manly (GM, p. 805).
- 335. A small two-stringed instrument. For a picture of a dutārā see MK, plate facing p.135.
- 336. chaurī, 'chowrie', the whisk used by a reader to protect the Guru Granth Sahib.
- 337. topī-vālā: lit. 'one who wears a cap, hat, or helmet' but idiomatically used to designate a Mughal soldier or (later) a European. It is, however, possible that in both 384 and 385 topī-vālā should read simply 'Muslim'. Cf. topīan, note 58.
- 338. turak akhar, 'Turkish characters', i.e. Arabic. The placing of a book, inscribed paper, printed page, etc. on one's head signifies reverence for its contents.
- 339. gor marī. See note 173.
- 340. Although kallar normally means saline soil the word has also been used as a synonym for reh 'fossil alkali (used for washing and making soap)' (John T. Platts, A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi, and English, London, 1884, pp. 842, 613).
- 341. This presumably refers to money given to a dharamsalia.
- 342. These two injunctions and the scriptural quotation have evidently been inserted at this

- point by mistake.
- 343. M4, Gaurī Pūrbī 4, AG p. 13.
- 344. SRL omitted this offence.
- 345. besavā dā tamāsā: 'the harlot's display'.
- 346. saravar (saravar): a stretch of water. If used in a religious context it designates a sacred lake or pool where (in theory at least) lotuses grow. This ChS reference is presumably to places of Hindu pilgrimage.
- 347. māṛī makām: a building of impressive proportions. In the Punjab the term has been used to designate shrines dedicated to Gugga Pir, the legendary healer of snake-bites. MK, pp. 307, 725.
- 348. turak dī yāravī: the ceremony held on the eleventh day after a Muslim's death.
- 349. The names 'Singh' and 'Kaur', adopted by male and female members of the Khalsa, should not be omitted. If, for example, a man's name is Sher Singh he should be called Sher Singh, not Sher nor some other diminutive such as Shera or Sheru.
- 350. hukam-nāvīe: those who proclaim a decree (hukam-nāmā) of the Khalsa to all members of the Khalsa. In a more general sense the word could mean any who exercise authority.
- 351. The wording of this injunction leaves its precise meaning unclear: 'He who does not teach his son the Pothi Granth Sahib Ji is a tanakhāhīā.' It would be unreasonable to expect all eighteenth-century Sikh boys to become literate to the point where they could read the scriptures. The injunction may perhaps be intended for fathers who are themselves literate.
- 352. This injunction may refer to moral or doctrinal error. The context suggests, however, that it is to be construed literally as a prohibition of false travel directions.
- 353. ihu ant-orak kā bachan hai: 'This is the word of [the One who is] the end and limit [of all creation].'
- 354. M1, Vär Mājh 12:2, AG p. 143.
- 355. BG XXXIV, 21.
- 356. It is possible that here, as in 288-296, prasād may mean karāh prasād. Whatever the intended meaning of prasād may be there can be no mistaking the general purport of the prohibition. It clearly implies a differential ranking of Kes-dhari and Sahaj-dhari, the former perceived as superior to the latter. 'Kes-dhari' is presumably used here as a synonym for 'Amrit-dhari'.
- 357. M4, Sārang Dupadā 7, AG p.1200. The brief shabad which opens with this couplet is traditionally believed to have been addressed by Guru Ram Das to the disappointed Prithi Chand following the announcement that the succession would pass to the younger son Arjan. Sabadārath, p. 1200n. See notes 25, 285.
- 358. Prahlad was the virtuous son of the demon-king Hiranyakasipu. It was to protect Prahlad from his evil father that Vishnu appeared as the Man-Lion Avatar (Narasimha) and killed Hiranyakasipu.



- 359. A portion of Guru Amar Das's Rāmakalī Anand (AG pp. 917-22) commands a particular prominence in Sikh ritual and liturgy. This portion, which comprises the first five stanzas and the last, is a part of Sodar Rahirās, the evening liturgy. See note 18. It is also recited before commencing a reading of the complete Adi Granth and again at its conclusion (both sādhāran pāth and akhanḍ pāth); prior to the distribution of karah prasad; at the conclusion of the orders of service for child-naming and marriage; during the brief post-cremation ritual; and as a part of the Khalsa initiation ceremony (SRM, pp.19-20, 20-21, 25, 28, 30, 34). The hymn is generally known as Anand Sāhib. For its place in the marriage service see note 40. For a translation see TSSS, pp. 100-101.
- 360. Cf. section 376.
- 361. SRL omitted this offence.
- 362. bhādanī. See note 108.
- 363. Karah prasad comprises equal parts of āṭā, ghī, and sugar. See note 75. These ingredients must be weighed before mixing. After the karah prasad has been prepared it must not be placed on scales.
- 364. M5, Sārang 13, AG p. 1226.
- 365.  $bikhi\bar{a}$ , poison. See note 109.
- 366. Suchanand was a functionary (peśakār) in the retinue of Vazir Khan, the subahdar of Sarhind who led the attack on Guru Gobind Singh in 1704. Following the evacuation of Anandpur the Guru's mother and his two younger sons, Zoravar Singh and Fateh Singh, were treacherously delivered into the hands of Vazir Khan. Suchanand urged his master to execute the two children on the grounds that they were 'the offspring of a snake'. Vazir Khan eventually accepted the advice and the dominant tradition reports that they were bricked into a wall. In 1710 Banda Bahadur wrought vengeance on the city of Sarhind and on the vile Suchanand. In place of suchā (true, faithful) the Sikhs substituted jhūthā (false) and referred to him thereafter as Jhuthanand (MK, p.158. Macauliffe v. 168 ff. 195-198).
- 367. In place of sāhī khatrī the PSP version has chandūśāhī khatrī (PSP, p. 101). See note 284.
- 368. Cf. section 80.
- 369. PSP omits this offence.
- 370. SRL omitted this offence.
- 371. SRL omitted this offence.
- 372. hākam (ḥākim): one who exercises judiciał authority; magistrate; governor.
- 373. Dharamraj or (as in this reference) Dharamrai is the title applied to Yam, the god of the dead, in his role as divine arbiter of the fate of each individual. Strictly speaking the task of recording an individual's good and bad deeds is not his. It is performed by his subordinate Chitra-gupta.
- 374. Actions which dirty or defile must always be performed with the left hand. The right hand must be kept unpolluted for actions which require purity (particularly eating).

- 375. This prohibition may be aimed at debtors who try to evade their creditors.
- 376. SRL omitted this offence.
- 377. Section 470 has evidently been misplaced. It should probably follow 461.
- 378. The basic creed of Islam ('There is no god but God...').
- 379. Hair which has become bunched or tangled in the process of washing or wringing should be loosened and separated either by shaking the head or by a careful unravelling with the fingers. The prohibition is evidently directed against the kind of vigorous hand action which would imply disrespect to the kes.
- 380. śahīd gañj: a place sanctified by a martyr's death.
- 381. jal de kandhe par : at water's edge.
- 382. pag. In this context pag may perhaps designate a kesakī, the light turban which is commonly worn in bed at night or, during the day, underneath the larger standard turban.
- 383.  $s\bar{u}rad\bar{a}s$ . Surdas, the celebrated sixteenth-century author of the  $S\bar{u}r$   $S\bar{a}gar$ , was blind. His name has accordingly been used as a synonym for 'blind person'. MK, p. 169.
- 384. Cf. sections 335, 391. The *PSP* version of this item proscribes the consuming of sheep's curds, not their application to hair. *PSP* p.103.
- 385. Farid, Salok 130 (line 2), AG p. 1384.
- 386. bikārā[h]. The five evil impulses are kām (lust), krodh (anger, wrath), lobh (covetousness), moh (attachment to worldly things), and hahkār (pride). GNSR, pp.184-5
- 387. Source not identified. Not in AG or DG.
- 388. katīrā: a gum resembling tragacanth obtained from the bark of the Sterculia urens. J. T. Platts, op. cit., p. 813.
- 389. mahadī, menhedī: the Broad Egyptian Privet. The leaves are powdered, beaten together with catechu, and made into a reddish-orange paste for staining hands and beards. Ibid., pp. 1108-9.
- 390. PSP omits this offence.
- 391. granth sāhib jī athavā pothī. The word athavā has been construed as the adverb meaning 'that is to say'. This gives the translation: 'the Granth Sahib or, in other words, the [sacred] volume.' If it is construed as the conjunction meaning 'or' the translation will read 'the Granth Sahib or [any other sacred] volume', the latter presumably a reference to a janam-sakhi. Normally, however, pothī means for the ChS compiler the Granth Sahib (the Adi Granth) and this is the meaning which it bears in the preceding section.
- 392. At this point *PSP* interpolates a brief narrative passage which describes how one of the Gurus rejected a complaint lodged against his ragis by one of his Sikhs. The Guru is not named. *PSP*, p. 104.
- 393. The GNDU/SRL text for this section is brief and cryptic. The PSP text, however, specifies Brahmans and makes the meaning of the prohibition clear. PSP, p. 105.



- 394. See note 38. This section and the next are not expressed as tanakhāhīā offences and are presumably misplaced.
- 395. Fire is sacred and must be treated with reverence. These two proscribed methods of extinguishing fire both imply disrespect. Cf. also 543. Blowing out a flame is presumably regarded as disrespectful because it may spray spittle. Cf. 562. For the same reason some Sikhs still cover their mouths when reading the Adi Granth.
- 396. Whereas the GNDU/SRL text plainly forbids the administering of khande dī pāhul (sword-baptism) to a woman the later PSP analogue reverses the meaning by inserting the negative adverb na before the verb (PSP, p. 105). The PSP version presumably represents a deliberate gloss, one which reflects the understanding of a later period. This possibility is considerably strengthened by a similar disagreement concerning the Sikh's duty to the rising sun (GNDU/SRL section 516; PSP, p. 106). In this latter instance it is the PSP version which omits the negative adverb. Both offences concern practices which an 'enlightened' view might regard as 'superstitious'. The fact that in both cases the PSP reading represents 'enlightenment' as opposed to 'superstition' suggests the influence of a later view. For khande dī pāhul see note 39.
- 397. Kabir, Gond 11, AG p. 873.
- 398. Copies of the Adi Granth are nowadays supplied with marker ribbons attached. Because there is no possibility of removal these ribbons are in no danger of pollution.
- 399. He should say hare karane, not sukāve. Kahn Singh includes harā karanā ('to wash, cleanse, make dry') in his 'Glossary of Khalsa usage'. GM, p. 351.
- 400. The objection to using disrespectful language with reference to a slate is presumably because the slate will have been used for recording Gurmukhi letters. The longer PSP version adds that mukāvaṇī (mukāvaṇā, to complete) should be used in preference to sukāvaṇī (PSP, p. 105). SRL omitted this offence.
- 401. Jāp 184, DG p. 10. The precise nature of the injunction is not clear. The writer presumably regards the sun as a visible representation of Akal Purakh. Cf. 151-152, 550. The PSP text omits the negative adverb, thus reversing the meaning. See note 396.
- 402. SRL omitted this offence.
- 403. PSP omits this offence.
- 404. dārī-vālā: 'a bearded [Sikh]'.
- 405. kes dikhāe: lit. show [his] kes', but idiomatically the expression for having lice extracted.
- 406. PSP: sotā vatā, 'either stick or stone'.
- 407. PSP omits this offence.
- 408. SRL omitted this offence.
- 409. SRL omitted this offence.
- 410. SRL omitted this offence.
- 411. PSP omits this offence.

- 412. jo satigurū ke kite upar bākī kaḍhe: 'He who demands a balance from the Satiguru'. If, for example, a Sikh who has asked for two sons receives only one he must not complain.
- 413. M5, Gaurī Sukhamanī 16(7) and 23(5), AG pp. 284, 294.
- 414. M1, Surplus Shaloks 33, AG p. 1412.
- 415. lampat, normally 'lecher' or 'libertine'. The context in which it is subsequently used in section 546 indicates, however, that the secondary meaning of 'false' or 'lying' is the sense in which the ChS compiler uses the word.
- 416. This section, evidently inserted at this point by mistake, belongs to a later part of the rahit-nama. See section 569. In the text the preceding item concerning Sikhs caught in rain is incorporated in 536 and this erratic section is numbered 537. It seems clear, however, that the number 537 was originally attached to the preceding item.
- 417. sīranī: sweets offered at a place such as a pir's shrine, viz. Muslim offerings.
- 418. pāṇī jūṭhā: water which has been contaminated by use, particularly water left over after drinking.
- 419. bemarijādā. The term marijādā (marayādā) implies a lower level of obligation than rahit.
- 420. M1, Var Asa 12, AG p. 470. See section 117,
- 421. M1, Asā 36, AG p. 355. See section 118.
- 422. kurahatīe: one who flagrantly violates the Rahit.
- 423. See section 6. SRL omitted this offence.
- 424. M1, Āsā Kāfī Aṣṭ 13(1), AG p. 418.
- 425. M1, Dhanāsarī 2, AG p. 660.
- 426. Water and the sun are life-giving manifestations of God and are therefore (like fire) divine. The practice of casting water towards the sun is not proscribed, merely the performing of the rite while naked. See also note 401.
- 427. PSP omits the latter portion of this injunction.
- 428. sithanī: an abusive song, usually one sung at a wedding by the bride's relatives and directed against close relatives of the groom.
- 429. She should visit the dharamsala morning and evening.
- 430. rumāl: the cloth in which a copy of the Granth Sahib is wrapped. chādar: a larger sheet which may be used on beds, as seating, or for protective purposes.
- 431. M4, Gaurī Guārerī 41 (1), AG p. 164.
- 432. siāpā: the mourning ceremony during which women express grief by weeping, wailing, and tearing of clothes.
- 433. See notes 24, 25.



- 434. bhājī: sweets and other gifts bestowed as a token of friendship.
- 435. See 87 and note 118.
- 436, pati-brat: a wife's sacred duty to her husband.
- 437. Kabir, Bhairau 9(1), AG p. 1159. Kabīr-granthavalī 348.
- 438. In the course of this brief enunciation of the doctrine of the corporate Guru the writer uses the word sarabat (entire) to define the corporate context within which the presence of the Guru is to be mystically discerned or assumed. Although the word sarabat has always been used with reference to this doctrine (characteristically in conjunction with the term khālsā) its precise meaning in this context is very difficult to determine. The following options can be regarded as theoretical possibilities:
  - i. The entire adult Sikh population of a particular area.
  - ii. The entire male adult Sikh population of a particular area.
  - iii. The adult Sikh males belonging to the dominant caste or castes of a particular area.
  - iv. Some form of selective representation.

The fourth option seems unlikely. Although it eventually emerged as a means of linking dispersed jathas during the misl period there is no evidence that it was the meaning intended by the *ChS* compiler. A strong possibility is that the first option was affirmed in theory, but that the second or third was normally followed in practice. There is, however, no reason why a woman of sufficient status and forthright vigour should not participate in the deliberations of a local sangat. The injunctions which *ChS* lays upon the Gursikhni indicate that there would normally be considerable inhibition but none of these suggests an explicit ban on such participation.

- 439. pūran purakh: Guru Gobind Singh.
- 440. Promiscuous intercourse between members of different castes is a feature of ultimate corruption, and social chaos must inevitably result.
- 441. kīkan: 'The name of the tribe remarkable for nakedness and looking starved, ugly, stunted and miserable; met. a poor man.' (Maya Singh, The Panjabi Dictionary, Lahore, 1895, p. 612).\*
- 442. sakat (saqit): fallen, vile, depraved.
- 443. See notes 24, 25.
- 444. pañj pīrīā[n]: 'The five pirs'. According to MK, p. 591, the five pirs are Sakhi Sultan, Miran, Gugga, Bibari, and Sitala. In Varis Shah's Hīr they are identified as the legendary Khwaja Khizr and the four great Sufi pirs of Punjab and Sind, viz. Farid Shakarganj of Pakpattan, Baha al-Din Zakariya of Multan, Jalal al-Din, 'Makhdum Jahaniyan' of Uch, and Lal Shahbaz Qalandhar of Sehwan (C. Shackle, 'Transition and transformation in Varis Shah's Hīr', unpub. Indian Narrative Seminar paper, SOAS London, 29.10.85).
- 445. M1, Surplus Shaloks 12, AG p. 1411.
- 446. supach (svapach): an 'eater of dogs'; a person of the most inferior, degraded status; a chandal.
- 447. This quotation is a conflation of two extracts from Guru Gobind Singh's Bachitra Nātak.

- Line 2 is taken from 6:29 and the three remaining lines from 6:42 (DG, p. 57).
- 448. This anecdote may be intended as another thrust directed at Khatris. Rai Singh, named as a Khatri, is pointedly described as one who is best kept out of the way when there is fighting to be done. Tumultuous times have come and Sikhs such as Rai Singh must therefore be packed off to their homes where they will cause no hindrance. Others, however, must be prevented from going to their homes. These are the warrior Sikhs, those who obey orders without questioning them. In time of tumult they are at their militant best, whereas extended periods at home serve only to enfeeble them. The reference in this latter case is presumably to the Jat followers of the Guru. The PSP version does not specifically identify Rai Singh as a Khatri.
- 449. A herald or crier; an assistant with special responsibility for issuing proclamations.
- 450. The ChS compiler's debt to his Chhibbar source is particularly evident in this section. It emerges first in his pointed use of raulā (tumult), a word which epitomises for Kesar Singh Chhibbar the period during which the Bansāvali-nāmā was written (S.1826, 1769 A.C.). The ChS reference to raulā is soon followed by raule de sikh, the term which for Kesar Singh Chhibbar typically describes the kind of irresponsible self-seeker who had assumed leadership in the Khalsa. The two terms thus serve to summarise a particularly jaundiced view of the Khalsa and its leaders during the period c.1760. The vicious raule de sikh were incompetent and their behaviour was threatening to destroy sikhī (another key term in the Chhibbar tradition). In this time of trial the one comfort is the assurance that it has all been foreseen by the omniscient Guru and is in fact a part of his ultimate plan. It was a view which was to find expression in section 14 of the Bansāvali-nāmā and is here set forth in ChS a few years earlier. The common terminology used by the two works testifies unmistakably to a common source tradition.

The sharing of concepts and terminology is also to be found in the ChS references to murīd, maīkī panth, and mukati (575-578). Section 10 of the Bansāvali-nāmā claims that Guru Gobind Singh issued a proclamation dividing the Panth into four categories, three of them virtuous and one sinful. Whereas the murīd (Loyal Sikhs) and mukate (Enlightened Sikhs) are two of the virtuous categories, the maīkī (Rapacious Sikhs) constitute the sinful reprobate group. This pronouncement the Guru is said to have delivered to his uncle Kirpal (loc. cit. 10: 138-47). The maīkī are subsequently identified with the raule de sikh (ibid. 14: 116, 287). See sections 224-27, 574, and Introduction, pp.45-47.

- 451. Kirpal Chand (later known as Kirpal Singh) was the brother of the Guru's mother Mata Gujari. Together with Sahib Chand he receives honourable mention in *Bachitra Nāṭak* 8: 9-10 for bravery during the Battle of Bhangani (1688). See note 226. For Sahib Chand and Dharam Chand see Introduction p.17.
- 452. Piara Singh Padam identifies the brothers Darbari and Gharbari Mal as descendants of Guru Amar Das and scribes in the entourage of Guru Gobind Singh. Both were killed at the Battle of Muktsar (1705), together with their father Khushal Singh (idem, Srī Gurū Gobind Singh jī de darabārī ratan, Patiala, 1976, p. 254).
- 453. Identified by Piara Singh Padam as a munshi of Guru Gobind Singh (ibid., p. 256).
- 454. chhinvai di puri. Translation uncertain. Cf. B40 (Eng), p. 129, n.566.
- 455. Parasu-rama ('Rama with the axe'), the sixth avatār of Vishnu, took birth as a Brahman at the beginning of the Treta-yuga in order to rid the world of the tyrannous rule of the Ksatriyas (Khatris). The evil Ksatriya king Kartavirya (or Sahansarbahu, 'the Thousand-armed'), having been entertained hospitably at the residence of Parasu-rama's father Jamadagni, stole a calf as he departed. Parasu-rama pursued him, cut off his



- thousand arms, and despatched him. When Kartavirya's sons responded by killing Jamadagni, Parasu-rama swore a terrible vengeance against all Ksatriyas and proceeded to destroy all Ksatriya males twenty-one times in succession (John Dowson, A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology, &c, London, 1961, pp. 230-231. MK, pp. 103, 210).
- 456. See section 173.
- 457. chāche tāiā[h] pās. Strictly speaking a chāchā is the younger brother of one's father and a taia his older brother. It is, however, clear that the reference is to Sati Das and Mati Das, the two nephews (bhaitje) of Daragah Mal. See Introduction, p.16.
- 458. GNDU, SRL, and PSP all include at this point a reference to the masands which seems plainly to have been recorded out of context: The masands had to be destroyed because they had become corrupt. The sentence should perhaps have been included in 590.
- 459. charan kavalā[n] pās kharotā sī, lit. 'standing near the lotus feet', in the blessed presence of the Guru.
- 460. achal-matī ahiraņ-budhī. This evidently derives from aharan-mati, 'the anvil of reason', an expression used in Japjī 38, AG p.8.
- 461. In place of the brief reference to Sikhs who will achieve martyrdom fighting the Muslim oppressors (turakān) the PSP text provides a lengthy extension of the reference to the vicious unruly Sikhs (raule de sikh). Specific mention is made of one called Ram Singh, a steward (mevarā) employed by Guru Gobind Singh who was guilty of disloyalty to his Master (PSP, pp. 113-15).
- 462. Following the evacuation of Anandpur and the Battle of Chamkaur in December 1704 Guru Gobind Singh travelled west-south-west from Machhiwara through modern Ludhiana District to the village of Dina in the southern portion of Moga tahsil (Firozpur District). Having there written his celebrated Zafar-nāmā and despatched it to the Emperor Aurangzeb he moved on to Khidrana (modern Muktsar) where the Battle of Khidrana took place in May 1705. From Khidrana he turned south-east and entered the dry, sandy tract known to Sikh tradition as the Lakhi Jungle (MK, p. 791). When he reached the village of Talvandi Sabo, twenty-five kilometres south-east of Bhatinda, he was welcomed by the local magnate, a Brar Jat called Dalla. There the Guru rested at the spot subsequently known as Damdama Sahib. He remained at Talvandi Sabo for nine months before moving on to Rajasthan, Delhi, and eventually the Deccan (MK, pp. 418-465).
- 463. The annual gathering or fair (melā) held to mark the full moon of the month of Magh (January-February).
- 464. Ajit Singh and Jujhar Singh were killed in the Battle of Chamkaur, shortly after Zoravar Singh and Fateh Singh were executed at the command of Vazir Khan, Subahdar of Sirhind. See note 366.
- 465. mañji: the authority of the masands.
- 466. Durga,
- 467. bandā, lit. 'slave' and colloquially 'person'. The word is plainly a pun referring to Banda Bahadur, the Sikh leader during the uprising against Mughal authority in the Punjab 1709-15.
- 468. āpane dāuno lāvāngā: '[Through him] I shall bring them to my hem.'

- 469. ik bandā sādh hosī. PSP version: bandā ik sādh hosī (p.115). The reference points explicitly to Banda Bahadur, but the word actually used retains its dual meaning of 'slave' or 'person' on the one hand, and the specific individual Banda on the other. The sentence might well be translated: 'Banda, he who will come to lead the Panth, is a sadhu.'
- 470. Banda.
- 471. gose galā[n]: 'things whispered in the air' (Pers. gos).
- 472. Cf. section 166.
- 473. In this prophecy reference is made to all four of the categories of Sikhs enunciated in the Chhibbar tradition. See 224-27 and Introduction, p.46.
- 474. Translation doubtful. If in fact *tīrath* does mean 'Divine One' it must refer to the Kalkin Avatar. See 624-25.
- 475. M1, Vār Āsā 20:2, AG p.473.
- 476. This prophecy is obscure. The reference to a 'celibate ascetic' who will follow the renunciant life-style for seven years and three months seems plainly to designate Banda. On the other hand, the introductory words suggest that the context is still the turnult of the writer's own period, almost half a century later.
- 477. SRL, f.83a, added: 'and the sacred code (dharam mrijādā) shall be observed.'
- 478. See 158 and Introduction, p.17.
- 479. M1, Vār Malār 23:2, AG p. 1288.
- 480. M5, Vār Jaitasarī 10:1, AG p. 708.
- 481. Ibid.
- 482. Kabir, Sorath 9, AG p. 656.
- 483. M1, Tilang 5, AG p. 722.
- 484. PSP: 'True King, you have said that you are present when all [your people assemble], that the Khalsa is yours and the Khalsa is your Guru.' (PSP, p. 117).
- 485. See section 209 ff.
- 486. derā: camp, dwelling-place; the Guru's residence and associated buildings.
- 487. M3, Vār Mārū 9, AG p. 1089.
- 488. M5, Sūhī 41, AG p. 745.
- 489. M4, Var Sorath 16, AG p. 648.
- 490. December/January.
- 491. This should presumably read Kirpal Singh, or perhaps Kirpal Chand. As the narrative proceeds it becomes clear that 'Mamaji' has been summoned into the Guru's presence to

- act as amanuensis. 'Mamaji' invariably designates the Guru's maternal uncle Kirpal Singh, alias Kirpal Chand. See note 451.
- 492. A tributary of the Ganga which flows past Mount Kedarnath in the Himalayas (MK, p.751).
- 493. The text includes the word talā which in this context means the flat land adjacent to a mountain and thus indicates that Mailagar is to be understood as the name of a mountain. Mount Mailagar (or Malayagiri) is, however, in South India. See note 533.
- 494. According to the *B40 Janam-sākhī* Guru Nanak received notification of his impending death in the form of a pinch of ashes delivered by two mysterious yogis (*B40 (Eng)*, pp.230-31). Cf. also the *Purātan* janam-sakhi tradition of a pre-death exchange of shaloks between Guru Nanak and Makhdum Bahauddin (Shaikh Baha' al-Din Zakariyya) (*GNSR*, p. 50).
- 495. upadrav: a natural disaster which is interpreted as a portent.
- 496. sankar: unlawful mixing of castes; a degraded caste resulting from the union of a man with a woman of higher caste or from promiscuous cohabitation.
- 497. This couplet appears to be a garbled verion of one (or more than one) of the several references to sankar baran which appear in the Nihakalankī Avatār section of the Dasam Granth. The most likely originals could be either or both of the following:

sankar baran prajā sabh hoī chhatrī jagat na dekhīai koī

- Loc. cit. 10:1, DG p. 572

chhatrī brāhaman rahā na koī sankar baran prajā sabh hoī

- Ibid. 15:4, DG p. 572

See also 4:1, 115:1, and 116:1 (DG pp. 571, 579).

- 498. M1, Vār Mājh 16:1, AG p. 145.
- 499. M1, Surplus Shaloks 15, AG p. 1411. A variant version of this shalok appears as M1, Var Särang 22:2, AG pp. 1245-46.
- 500. Ibid.
- 501. Ibid.

- 502. The writer calls the reprobates raule de sikh at this point. As Kesar Singh Chhibbar makes clear, the terms raule de sikh and māikī panth are synonymous (B-n 14:116).
- 503. Bachitra Nāṭak 6:56, DG p. 58.
- 504. M1, Surplus Shaloks 22, AG p. 1412.
- 505. M1, Vār Mājh 7:2, AG p. 141.
- 506. M1, Vār Sūhī 13:2, AG p. 789.
- 507. Kabir, Gaurī Chetī 44, AG p. 332.
- 508. M1, Rāmakalī Ast 1 (3), AG p. 902.

- 509. The cardinal sins enunciated by the writer are those of Brahmanical Hindu tradition, not the kurahit of the Khalsa discipline. This is consistent with the Puranic beliefs which he now begins to expound. It is, however, clear that his interest in the Kalkin Avatar derives from the Dasam Granth rather than directly from a Puranic source. In presenting this material he continues to provide an analogue to the tenth section of the Bansāvali-nāmā.
- 510. The translation of this sentence assumes that the word sekh means 'remaining'. It can, however, be read as sekh, 'the offspring of a degraded Brahman'. Cf. notes 496, 497. If the latter were to be correct the translation could read: 'The Kaliyuga will hold sway and for 835 years the dominance of the bastard Brahmans will endure. Then shall the Satiyuga dawn.'
- 511. The last of the incarnations of Vishnu and the only one which is still to come. According to Puranic tradition the appearance of Kalkin, riding on his white horse, will terminate the Kaliyuga and usher in the commencement of a new Satiyuga (Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, The Origins of Evil in Hindu Mythology, Berkeley, 1976, p.200; Basham, The Wonder that was India, London, 1954, pp. 307, 321). In the Dasam Granth retelling of the Vishnu avatars (the Chaubīs Avatār, DG pp. 155-709) the Kalkin Avatar receives lengthy treatment, surpassed in this respect by only the Krishna and Ram narratives. For a summary of the Dasam Granth treatment see Dharam Pal Ashta, The Poetry of the Dasam Granth, New Delhi, 1959, pp. 71-72. In the Dasam Granth version Kalkin is also called Nihakalank, 'the Spotless One' (MK, p. 256).
- 512. Nihakalankī Avatār 141, DG p. 581. SRL (f. 91a) quoted only four words. GNDU (f. 155b) and the Bansāvali-nāmā analogue supply the longer quotation (B-n 10:660-61).
- 513. dev-purī: Vaikunth, the heaven of Vishnu.
- 514. According to Puranic cosmogony the length of a Satiyuga (or Krta-yuga) was set at 4,800 'years of the gods' and each 'year of the gods' was held to span 360 human years. 4,800 x 360 = 1,728,000, as given by the text.
- 515. Apart from the introductory reference to the four yugas the *PSP* text omits the cosmogonic schema and description of the Tenth Master presented by the *GNDU/SRL* text in 629-638 (*PSP*, p. 121).
- 516. The correct total is 4,320,000. The full cycle constitutes a mahāyuga.
- 517. M10, Akāl Ustat 6:76, DG p. 18.
- 518. Fourteen days, viz. fourteen periods of daylight plus fourteen nights. The Puranic figure is fourteen.
- 519. Twenty-four minutes.
- 520. According to the Puranic pattern Vishnu assumes the form of Rudra the Destroyer at the conclusion of the entire cycle and proceeds to consume the entire universe.
- 521. Ishvar, viz. Shiv.
- 522. M5, Gaurī Sukhamanī 16 (2), AG p. 284. For Kesar Singh Chhibbar's version of this passage concerning the four yugas, the Kalkin Avatar, and the definition of a kalap see B-n 10:636-61. In the Bansāvalī-nāmā the cosmogonic details come first (10:636-43). These are followed by an exhortation to remain faithful to the Guru, and then by the description of the yugas with its climax in the appearance of Kalki (10:649-61). The two versions manifest the usual range of similarity and difference which characterises the

- connection between the *Bansāvalī-nāmā* and portions of the *ChS* narrative. Although there are differences of order and of detail there are points at which the two versions clearly correspond. There can be no doubt that they derive from a common source.
- 523. M10, Jap 1:1, DG p.1. The point of the quotation is that God is in no way bounded by human limitations.
- 524. The vestigial nipples on the male chest.
- 525. M1, Vadahans 3, AG p. 558.
- 526. M1, Asa Ast 15(7), AG p. 419.
- 527. ate dasakhat bulākā singh likhārī de. In SRL the scribe's name was spelt Balaka Singh. According to the Bansāvalī-nāmā version the scribe who recorded the first copy of the rahit-nama was Sital Singh Baharupia. An unnamed Shudra Sikh then made a second copy (B-n 10:526).
- 528. Gurbakhsh Singh was the father of Kesar Singh Chhibbar. See Introduction, p.16. It is not entirely clear from the text what Gurbakhsh Singh had recorded, for the reference to him merely states gurabakhsah singh likhāiā hai. The claim that Guru Gobind Singh commissioned the first recording of the rahit-nama is clearly stated. It presumably follows that Gurbakhsh Singh subsequently had a second copy made. The English translation reflects this assumption.
- 529. M1, Asā Ast 12(3), AG p. 417.
- 530. The PSP text concludes at this point.
- 531. M5, Vār Mārū 7, AG p. 1096.
- 532. bāvan, viz. bāvan chandan, the dwarf sandal-tree. The standard text reads chandan. The point of this particular line is that just as the sterile simmal-tree can acquire the fragrance of sandal-wood by growing in the vicinity of a sandal-tree (chandan), so in like manner can an ordinary sinner absorb piety by associating with pious company. The image is a common one in Sant literature, though normally the chandan represents the satsang. In this kabit it signifies the Guru.
- 533. milagār. Mailagar (or Malayagiri) is the region in South India famed for its sandal-trees.
- 534. Bhai Gurdas, Kabitt 503. For the standard text, with Punjabi paraphrase, see Giani Bishan Singh (ed.), Kabitt savayye tīka Bhāī Guradās jī (Amritsar, 4th ed., 1952).
- 535. M5, Bāvan Akharī 52:1, AG p. 261.
- 536. Although the name is an unusual one GNDU, SRL and KhC all agree on the spelling.
- 537. M10, Bachitra Nāṭak 13:11, DG p. 71.
- 538. Nihakalankī Avatār 68, DG p. 575.
- 539. Pakhayān Charitra 405:396, DG p. 1387.
- 540. See Introduction, p.30.
- 541. pandit padhe mie mahant. 'Mian' is a title of respect used for eminent Muslims. See note

- 559. The title 'Mahant' presumably refers to the superiors of Nath establishments.
- 542. The first shaving of a child's head; the shaving of the head following the death of a close relative.
- 543. tarapan: lit. 'satisfaction'; the Hindu ceremony of casting or sprinkling water as an offering to gods or deceased forbears.
- 544. nangī bodī: 'with tuft of hair uncovered.' The meaning is presumably that Sikhs should never defer to Brahmans nor take instruction from them.
- 545. nasavār: snuff, normally made from tobacco.
- 546. The outcasted offspring of a union between a Shudra father and a Brahman mother; a member of the outcaste group supposed to descend from such antecedents; any vile, mean, viciously immoral person.
- 547. ekādaśī (Pbi. ikādasī): the eleventh day of each half of the lunar month. For Vaishnavas the consumption of grains is prohibited on this day. Only fruit, vegetables and milk are permitted.
- 548. M4, Nat Nārāin Ast 4(5) AG p. 982. See note 561.
- 549. gurū ke prasādi. This presumably means karah prasad. See note 302.
- 550. See note 359.
- 551. See note 12.
- 552.  $ar\ pitr\ n\bar{u}[\dot{n}]\ bh\bar{i}\ pahuch\bar{a}$ . The ceremonies performed by Gursikhs constitute an effective  $sr\bar{a}dh$ . For  $sr\bar{a}dh$  see note 81. It is possible that the reference to forbears has been included at this point by mistake. The same words have been added to the description of the  $sr\bar{a}dh$  which appears in GNDU on folio 203a, SRL folio 101a.
- 553. Probably karah prasad, but possibly ordinary food.
- 554. gota khānā: to be immersed; to struggle to save oneself from drowning.
- 555. doi gharīān, two gharīs. A gharī is the equivalent of twenty-four minutes, which means that a strictly accurate translation would read: 'Forty-eight minutes before the close of day' (viz. before the conclusion of the fourth watch of the day). The actual reading should thus begin shortly after 5 p.m.
- 556. See note 18.
- 557. chhatī amrit karike prasādi: 'food containing the thirty-six flavours' (MK, p. 363).
- 558. Source not identified. Not in AG or DG.
- 559. mīe brāhamaņ. The connotation of mīe (sing. mīan) is not clear. The word mīan may be used as a noun meaning 'teacher', and it may also be used adjectivally or as a form of address to mean 'respected'. In this latter usage it was characteristically applied to Muslims in the Punjab and 'Muslim teacher' is thus a possible translation. It is, however, more likely that it is to be read as an ironic title for the execrated Brahmans.
- 560. Source not identified. Not in AG or DG.

- 561. M4, Nat Nārāin Ast 4 (5), AG p. 982. Cf. note 548.
- 562. dhīā[h] bhain: 'daughters [or] sisters'.
- 563. athitā[n] (athitī or atithī): guests, visitors.
- 564. bhagavā[n]: the reddish-yellow colouring used by many ascetics to dye their garments.
- 565. sākhī, 'testimony'. The writer has used a formula appropriate to the terminating of a janam-sakhi.
- 566. The PSP text terminates at this point.
- 567. Equivalent to Friday, 5 April 1765.

PSP introductory prologue

The eternal and supreme Guru has declared, The gathered community (sarabati sangati) is my Khalsa. All should observe the Guru's Rahit.' [The injunctions of the Rahit were recorded] by Enlightened Sikhs (mukate sikh) in the presence of the eternal and supreme Master. These devout Sikhs studiously compiled a rahit-nama so that Gursikhs might act as the Guru has prescribed. The Sikh Rahit is as follows: Pay heed to neither Brahma [the God of the Hindus] nor to Muhammad [the Prophet of the Muslims]. Obey only the commands of your own Gurus. If help be needed the Gurus will furnish it [to those who accept] their testimony recorded in the Granth.

I praise and adore my Guru a hundred times a day, he who lifts men to the ranks of the gods, swiftly, without delay, 2

The Satguru will sustain [the Gursikh] both in this world and the next. The Gursikh should

therefore obey the Rahit.

The Sikh who comes to the sangat seeking knowledge [of the Guru] and there approaches Enlightened Sikhs should receive from them an exposition of the Sikh way. Any ordinary Sikh who approaches the members of his local [sangat] should depart bearing a belief in the Rahit. Many Sikhs have strayed into error, still believing that men are divided by caste distinctions. If any Sikh should be thus deluded Enlightened Singhs should make it clear to him that each Sikh must associate with his fellow Sikhs. He should not view anyone as a Khatri, a Shudra or a Vaishya. Ignoring all distinctions of caste he should see only a Gursikh.

He should, moreover, renounce the sacred thread, the frontal mark, the dhoti and Hindu rituals. Instead he should read the sacred scripture (śabad) and if he is to arrange a marriage he should never summon Brahmans. Let him [on such occasions] read the Anand [Sāhib hymn]. He should also avoid the company of Muslim officials and he should never seek their favour.

Much [oral] instruction of this kind had been given [when eventually] some Sikhs employed in Guru [Gobind Singh's] administration were approached by other Sikhs [seeking clarification]. 'The Enlightened Sikhs deliver homilies,' they said, 'and they do so in accordance with the Guru's teachings. [But we need more than this.]' Some helpful Sikhs from amongst those who received this enquiry went to the Enlightened Sikhs and asked them what they were actually teaching. 'Only the Satguru understands the situation as far as his Sikhs are concerned,' they replied. 'He has made it clear that his Panth has been set apart and that the Rahit which he has promulgated is likewise distinct [from the conventions observed by Hindus and Muslims].'

'What you say is correct,' said their enquirers, 'but you should communicate the Guru's words [with authority] so that all believe them. If they do not plainly bear the Master's authority the Sikhs will not accept them. Lay a petition before the Master, [asking that his commands be delivered in a manner which] all his Sikhs will understand and obey.'

[In response to this request] the Enlightened Sikhs prepared a written version of the Rahit. 'Have it read before the Master,' said the enquirers. 'Whatever decree is then issued [by the Guru] will be authoritative.' 'We shall so do when we perceive an appropriate opportunity,' replied the Enlightened Sikhs. 'And we shall have it read to the assembled Sikhs,' said the enquirers. 'The Master has command over the conscience of all [his followers] and whatever he approves will be accepted.'

The Sikhs acting as intermediaries took [this answer back to those who had asked them for assistance]. When a favourable opportunity appeared the petition was presented [to the Guru] and the draft read [before him]. It was to uphold dharma that I created the Panth, said the Guru, It must not be corrupted [by caste distinctions]. As the Granth [Sahib] says:

All peoples have merged in a single caste and dharma has been overthrown.<sup>3</sup>
'The four castes are one [within the Panth],' he declared. 'All become one as a result of their common relationship to the Guru. Here there can be no distinctions:

The Enlightened are the breath of my body. Obey [my command] and win acceptance.4

[The Guru then turned] to the Enlightened Sikhs and, with reference to the Rahit, instructed them as follows: 'Brothers, compile a Sikh rahit-[nama] in accordance with the testimony provided by the Granth Sahib.' 'We are but ordinary people,' they answered. 'You are the Master. How can we know what is in your heart?' 'I shall inspire and direct your words,' the Guru assured them. 'Write in accordance with the dictates of wisdom and the testimony of the Granth [Sahib].'

With awe and trepidation the Enlightened Sikhs prepared a rahit-[nama], using the Granth Sahib as they did so. Having completed it in seven days they took it to the Guru who commanded that it be read to him. They began to read [and had completed only a part of the document when] he declared, 'It has been well done!' It required only a small portion to win his approval. [When this was given] the Singhs [who had been entrusted with the task] reverently prostrated themselves [before him].

This took place on the seventh day of [the month of] Jeth, S. 1757.5 'If any copy be made,' announced the Guru, 'it must be presented for approval. This rahit-nama is the official version.<sup>6</sup> No Sikh should adulterate it with prescriptions observed by others. He should act according to this code of conduct alone, for this one has been compiled by true Sikhs. Let this command be obeyed.'

- *PSP*, pp. 68-70.

## Footnotes to Appendix

- 1. See introduction, p.46.
- 2. M1, Vār Āsā 1:1, AG p. 462.
- 3. M1, Dhanāsarī 8, AG p. 663,
- 4. Source not identified.
- 5. May-June 1700.
- 6. hazūrī, compiled in the presence of the Supreme Authority and bearing his imprimatur.

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#### GLOSSARY

Many of the terms listed below have been defined at greater length in footnotes to the English translation. Numbers given in parentheses after individual entries indicate the footnotes (English translation) which should be consulted for extended definitions or examples of usage.

Akāl Purakh: God.

akhand pāth: continuous reading of the entire Adi Granth (79).

Aradās: Ardas, a set prayer used in Sikh rituals (12).

āvāgavan: transmigration.

avatār: 'descent'; incarnation, esp. of Vishnu.

bāṇī, gurabāṇī: works of the Gurus and Bhagats recorded in the Adi Granth (10).

Bhāī: Brother', title of reverence conferred on Sikhs of acknowledged

piety and/or learning (64).

bhog: pleasure, climax; conclusion of a complete reading of the Adi Granth

(79)

charan-āmrit: foot-nectar', the water used for the foot-initiation' charan dī pāhul

rite (39).

darabār, darbār: court; assembled retinue of an important dignitary.

dharam, dharma: the appropriate moral and religious obligations attached to any

particular status in Hindu society.

dharamasālā: room or building used for religious assemblies and worship (13,

135). Cf. guraduārā .

dharamasālīā: custodian of a dharamsala (60).

dewan, minister of state, chief functionary, principal steward.

gayatrī: verse from Rig-Veda recited (audibly or silently) morning and evening by Brahmans.

exogamous caste grouping, sub-caste.

gurabilās: Gur-bilas, 'splendour of the Guru', works in praise of the Gurus

(esp. 18-19th century).

guraduārā: gurdwara, Sikh temple (135). Cf. dharamasālā.

guramantar: the mantra or sacred formula imparted to a neophyte at

initiation (118).

guramukh: Gurmukh; a faithful follower of the Guru, a loyal Sikh (7).

gwasikh: Gursikh; a Sikh of the Guru, a loyal Sikh (5).

gurasikhanī: Gursikhni; a loyal female Sikh.

hom: fire sacrifice to invoke the presence of the goddess Durga.

 $j\bar{a}g\bar{i}r$ : grant of land.

janam-sākhī: traditional narrative, biography (esp. of Guru Nanak).
jathā: military detachment; group of Sikhs under discipline.
kabitt: a poetic metre.

kachh: breeches which must be worn by members of the Khalsa.

karā: steel bangle.

karāh prasād: sacramental food prepared in an iron vessel (75, 363).

kanghā: comb.

got, gotra:

karma: destiny, fate of an individual, generated in accordance with the deeds

performed in his present and past existences. religious homily; exposition of scriptures (19, 78).

kathā: religious homily; ex kes: the hair of the head.

Kes-dhārī: a Sikh who observes the Rahit injunction to refrain from cutting

his/her hair (8). Cf. Sahaj-dhārī.

khandā: two-edged sword (39) khidāvā: a servant appointed to s

 $iv\vec{a}$ : a servant appointed to supervise and entertain a small child.

kirapān: kirpan, sword, dagger.

kīratan: kirtan, the singing of devotional songs (19, 78).

mahant: superior of a monastery or other religious institution (65).

malechh: polluted foreigner, barbarian, Muslim (324).

man: mind, heart, soul, psyche (181)
maniji: string bed; lectern for the sacred scripture; area of spiritual

iurisdiction (465).

maryādā: custom, social usage.

masand: deputy appointed by the Guru to supervise a designated sangat or

group of sangats (25).

monā: 'shaven'; one who cuts his hair.

munshī: scribe, secretary.

nām: the divine Name, the expression of the nature and being of God in

terms comprehensible to the human understanding.

namaste: reverential greeting, obeisance.

nām simaran: repeating the divine Name of God; meditating on God.

Nāth: lit. 'master'. A yogic sect of considerable influence prior to and

during the time of the early Sikh Gurus. Its members, who are also known as Kanphat yogis, practised hatha-yoga in order to obtain

immortality.

pāhul: initiation, baptism (39).

pañi mel: the five reprobate groups, to be avoided by members of the Khalsa

(24, 25).

Panth: the Sikh community.

prasād; food; karah prasad (75, 302).

rāgī: a musician employed to sing kirtan (q.v.).

Rāhit: the code of discipline of the Khalsa.

rahit-nāmā: a recorded version of the Khalsa code of discipline.

raulā: tumult, chaos (450).

sabad: the divine Word; shabad, a hymn from the Adi Granth.

Sahaj-dhārī: a devotee of the Gurus who does not observe the full Khalsa discipline, specifically the ban on hair-cutting (8). Cf. Kes-dhārī.

sākhī: an anecdote concerning Guru Nanak; a story from a janam-sakhi

(162).

sangat: religious assembly, congregation (14).
satsang: the fellowship of true believers, congregation.

savayyā: a poetic metre. sikhaņī: Sikhni, Sikh woman. siropā: robe of honour (234).

*śrādh*: rite commemorating deceased forebear.

tanakhāh: penance, fine (300).

tanakhāhīā: one who has transgressed the Rahit (300).

*tīrath*: a place of pilgrimage.

#### **INDEX**

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